

HISTORY OF MUSLIM EDUCATION

VOL. I
(712 to 1750 A.D.)

Prof. M. Hamiuddin Khan

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9	14	and	x x x
9	19	philosphy	philosophy
9	20	socreates	socrates
11	14	supertion	superstition
11	15	enturies	Centuries
11	28	supperessing	suppressing
12	19	, but	. But
13	13	marital	martial
16	30	rele	role
17	12	incilmency	inclemency
25	8	explanation	explanation
26	9	cohence	coherence
27	20	founer,	founders
28	9	Mulezzins	Muezzins
28	23	oxistence	of existence
31	29	prinitarily	primarily
33	30	fudiment	rudiment
34	22	illustrious	illustrious
36	25	Msmun	Mamun
39	13	origanal	original
40	4	enducated	educated
41	5	centxury	century
41	5	ere	era
41	19	no	or
42	4	religiour	religions
42	10	acients	ancients
43	15	reperte	repute
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45	11	schools	schools
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Page	Line	Erroneous	Correct
47	14	for	far
48	7	Big	as well as big
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50	13		translated
50		unciarcher	ancient archeological
50	27	short live	short lived
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16	5	Afghan	Turkish
35	27	simlies	similes
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51	27	connesseur	connoisseur
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52	1	Gujra	Gujrat
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110	19	led	laid
112	24	x x x	but
118	19	haram	harem
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FOREWORD

Muslim India can never repay the debt of gratitude, it owes to the foresight of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who heralded the Muslim renaissance in the sub-continent by establishing the All India Muslim Educational Conference at Aligarh in 1886.

Mutiny (1857-58) horrors had benumbed the Muslims, high and low, and the Post-Mutiny stupor of the Indian Muslim Society had engulfed even the intellectual classes, so much that instead of facing the challenge of the time, they sought refuge in the boycott of the Western education and Western sciences. Sir Syed's clarion call came in time and gave the necessary jolt to shake off the fatal lethargy. He succeeded in inducing the nation to accept modern education and to enrich Urdu with useful literature through translation, compilation and production of original books.

The texture of the Conference that was disrupted by the Partition of 1947 was mended, the torn threads were taken up again and pieced

together and the Conference was revived in 1951 at Karachi by that indefatigable worker in the field—the ever smiling Mr. Syed Altaf Ali Brelvi—who has dedicated his life to the cause of education. And during its short existence, we are proud to say, it has rendered valuable services by creating cultural awakening and a sense of corporate life among the citizens of Pakistan.

Some of the most significant achievements of the Conference are the establishment of the Sir Syed Girls Degree College and the Academy of Educational Research. The Academy has, with unstinted help and full co-operation of a galaxy of scholars, brought out since 1956, sixty books of high literary standard, mostly covering the field of education. These publications of the Academy have been highly appreciated by the discerning public and some of them have gone into second editions, which testifies to their popularity and utility.

When the Government of Pakistan embarked upon the scheme of reshaping the educational policy with a view to harmonising it with the educational requirements and national aspirations of the people, the Educational Conference, due to its brilliant record, could not be ignored. It submitted, as desired, proposals to the late Dr. Itrat Husain Zubairi, the then Educational Adviser to the Government of Pakistan, to compile a few volumes dealing with the history of education

containing a critical, integrated account of the progress of education under Muslim rule in the sub-continent. The proposed volumes were to give a sound background of Islamic system of education in formulating educational policy of the Government. They would also be a useful source of information to foreign scholars, research students and professors of colleges and Universities of Pakistan.

Dr. Zubairi approved the scheme and gave the go-ahead signal. The Government sanction of a special grant of Rs. 35,000/- for bringing out an edition of the said history was conveyed to the Conference through letter No. F-18-7/57-IV, dated the 28 Auguts, 1958. The grant was to be released in two instalments during the years 1958-59 and 1959-60. But with the sudden retirement of Dr. Zubairi from the Government service, his successor-in-office, for reasons not known to us, withdrew the above sanction and, later on, we were directed to implement the project from the recurring annual grant.

The Conference, being convinced of the importance of this project and realising that no present or future scheme of educational reconstruction in the country can bear fruitful results and satisfy the demands of a rising generation, unless it was firmly rooted in our glorious past and well-established traditions, with enough elasticity to adjust to the modern technological and scientific

needs, decided to pursue its execution, though intermittently, due to financial hurdles.

Paucity of material was another difficulty in reconstructing a regular history of Muslim education, giving sufficient information on curricula, method of teaching, state and public patronage of education, intellectual standards of teachers and students, education of women and children, as well as condition of literacy prevailing in medieval India. The original source-books of General History of those times do not contain sufficient information regarding the problems of education. The only important book which, for the first time dealt with education is Dr. Narendranath Laws's "Development and Promotion of Learning under Muslim Rule", which as far as it goes, contains useful information on the topic with which it deals.¹ But it is sketchy in certain respects and the learned author has failed to stick to historical objectiveness in making correct appraisal of personalities and institutions. Mr. S. M. Jaffar's contribution to this important topic is, no doubt, an improvement, but his book is now out of print. Justice Syed Mahmood's monumental work on the History of Education is a classic on the subject but gives the educational data during British Rule upto 1891 only. Many books in Urdu have also been published which furnish useful and in some

1. The Conference Academy has published its translation with useful explanatory notes in 1965.

cases detailed information on the educational problems of the Muslims. Mr. Saeed Ahmad Rafiq's book in Urdu, "The Islamic System of Education," which has been published by the Conference falls under this category. He has taken great pains in collecting useful information on the subject, which he has carefully incorporated in this book.

The Conference, while starting work on the project, decided, in consultation with competent scholars in the field, to prepare four volumes, dealing with the history and development of education since the settlement of the Muslims in the Pak-Indo sub-continent. The four volumes were to be published in the following order:—

1. History of Muslim Education in India, Vol. I (712) A.D.—to the decline of the Mughuls.—(1750).
2. History of Muslim Education in India. Vol. II. (1751—1854) A.D.—
3. History of Muslim Education in India, Vol. III. (1854—1947) A D.
4. History of Education in Pakistan, Vol. IV. —1947—up to the present time.

The manuscripts of volume I and II are ready for publication and we have the pleasure to present the first volume to our readers. Subsequent volumes

will appear in due course as soon as finances permit.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not offer my sincere thanks to Mr. Syed Altaf Ali Brelvi, the learned Director of the Academy of Educational Research and the late Mr. In'am-i-Azim Burney of the Conference Office, who have made substantial contributions to the preparation of this book. Prof. Mohd. Hamiuddin Khan, M.A., our Deputy Director who has worked untiringly in correlating, and re-writing the mass of material, arranging it and sifting the information from various sources, bore the real brunt of the burden, besides attending to other duties in the Conference.

We are also thankful to the Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, but for whose recurring grant-in-aid to the organisation, it would not have been possible to undertake this important work. Besides, our thanks are due to Major Shamsuddin Mohd., Sayyid Hosain Imam and Mr. Hassanally A. Rahman, President, Vice-President and Honoy. General Secretary, respectively of, the Conference, whose encouragement and guidance have gone a long way to sustain us in our efforts in bringing out this volume.

Karachi, 25th June, 1967.

Mirza Ali Azhar Barlas,

CHAIRMAN,

Academy of Educational Research,
All Pakistan Educational
Conference,

INTRODUCTION

Before the advent of Islam, Christianity had spread far and wide. The Roman Empror, Constantine I had accepted this religion and since then it had become the state religion of Roman Empire, which ruled over the whole of Europe and a great portion of Asia and Africa. Before the Christian era, several states which had risen in importance politically, had also become cradles of learning and civilization. Among them Eygpt, Babylon, Assirya, China, India and Greece, no doubt, made significant contribution to the development of civilization and culture. But, leaving Greece we find nowhere true evolution of education or educational philosophy including Eygpt, China and India. China and India made considerable progress in certain branches of learning such as Ethics, Astronomy and Medicines, but the corroding effect of superstitious and mythological beliefs hampered the growth of their intellect. In the words of great French Scholer MON-

SIEUR LIEUBAN" the Hindu mind——'is devoid of quality which is essential for research and which constitutes the basis of all knowledge and learning.'

Rome had no special aptitude for learning and scholarship and whatever progress it made in the field of education and speculative sciences was due to the Roman contact with the Hellenes, who, by their superior intellect and creativity had established full control over the minds of the Romans, to whose political domination they had succumbed.

Egypt's pre-eminence in the field of intellectual awakening, however, cannot be denied. Their leaders and scholars developed a type of civilization, whose brilliance dazzled the eyes of the scholars of the Eastern and Western hemispheres. The relics or their monumental works which have been unearthed by Western people, specially the French, convincingly show that their contribution had been marvellous. The success in preserving the system of education, in manufacturing paper and in the art of writing gave a fillip to learning and made it possible to preserve the peculiar type of culture and civilization, which they had developed.

The Egyptian success in the field of intellectual advancement, later on, helped the Greeks considerably, develop their own Hellenic civilization which they raised to a far

higher level of perfection. The Western Scholars for a long time refused to acknowledge indebtedness of Greece to a non-European State in evolving their cultural pattern, but the truth has been established by the writings of Greek historians themselves.

Soon Greece surpassed Egypt and every other country in the field of education. They became the acknowledged teachers and preceptors not only of their contemporaneous world but also of the modern civilized world. They became the successors of the older civilizations and inheriting from them the treasures of the past, and applied their undoubted genius and creative faculties of mind to develop purposefully their own civilization for the benefit of succeeding generations. For the evolution of educational system, its ideals and philosophy, the contribution of Greek philosophers, particularly Socrates, Plato and Aristotle can not be praised adequately and its debt to modern science and learning can not be repaid by the entire world.

But their glorious period of vigorous intellectual outburst—and research proved short-lived. Even when at the zenith of glory the Greek learning remained confined to a few privileged classes, leaving the common people to wallow in the mud and filth of ignorance

and superstition. Education proved of no help to guide, enlighten or better the condition of masses. All old communities and states in the past had confined education and learning to certain favoured classes, while the vast majority of people outside the rank of Royalty, Bureaucracy and Priesthood were strictly forbidden from tasting the fruit of learning. Greece, notwithstanding her vaunted love of democracy and yearning for enlightenment, did nothing to liberate education from old shackles and class pre-judices.

Religion in Greece had no sanction in Greek philosophy, which was based on rationalism and materialism, as was the case with the old civilizations born on the banks of Nile and Euphrates. Religion, therefore, did not thrive in the prevailing atmosphere of free rational ideas. But, it is very distressing that even the Greeks, who devised a far better code of education and system of philosophy, could not tolerate philosophers and thinkers, like Socrates, Plato, Euripides and Aristotle, who had to pay the price of their adherence to truth and virtue by undergoing sentences of death, exile or interdiction. It is no wonder, therefore, that Greece could not maintain her intellectual superiority and along with it, political hegemony for long. The glory that was Hellenic continued to flicker but for a brief duration in which it showed light to the groping Romans,

but by the time that Christianity was born it was totally extinguished.

The rise of Christianity, particularly since the acceptance of the new faith on political grounds, by Constantine I in 320 AD was an important event in history. The spread of the influence of the Christian faith made for the total eclipse of whatever of Greek liberal thought and philosophy had survived. The forebears of the so called inventors of culture, learning and Science in Europe, during the Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, did nothing to rescue this Continent or other regions of the world, from the slough of ignorance and superstition during the early centuries of the rise of Christianity, whose devotees for about fifteen or sixteen hundred years managed frantically and desperately to keep the light of learning and reason from reaching the people in countries, under their control. The history of the period is a dismal record of inhuman persecutions, devilish tortures, burnings and forcible extortion of false evidence from innocent persons in order to implicate them in church crimes and furnishes revolting instances of brutalities committed in the name of religion and God. No service to the Christian church was considered nobler and higher than suppressing freedom of thought and ideas, preventing diffusion of knowledge and even the slightest digression from the dogmas real or interpolated, with a high hand.

The damages done to the collective out-put of human genius in the form of literature, art, painting, science or Philosophy during this long period of christian church dominaton is beyond repair and difficult to give credence to.

This was the harrowing state of bleeding humanity and unspeakable depravity when in the midst of this darkest hour of despair and frustration a light appeared on the hill of FARAN in Mecca, heralding the dawn of a brighter, more inspiring and en-nobling Era of spiritual enlightenment and human salvation.

Rapid
growth of
Islam and
Islamic
Civilisation.

The phenomenal rise of Islam in the world and particularly its contribution to the cultural growth and intellectual development has bewildered Western Scholars. who have taken great pains to discover the underlying causes of the sudden birth of Islamic Society, which soon eclipsed the old historic civilizations that once held sway over the world.

One hundred years after the death of the holy Prophet of Islam, his followers were the masters of an empire, greater than that of Rome at its zenith, and the name of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him), joined with the name of Almighty ALLAH, was being called five times a day from thousands of minarets scattered over South Western Europe, Nothern Africa and Western and Central Asia, but a

glance at the moral and intellectual forces let loose by Islam, first in the Arab world and subsequently in other countries during the time of the Holy Prophet, and his immediate successors, will show that it was the emphasis on knowledge and enquiry in the secrets of nature, laid by the Holy Quran that enabled the Muslims to develop superior culture, a distinctive social order and new way of life, which, strengthened by the fervour of their faith and convictions, swept away everything before them; far more than what their arms or marital or material resources could accomplish.

P. K. Hitti, in his book, "HISTORY OF ARABS" writes :—

"History shows no parallel to this phenomenal rise and spread of Islam. Much has been written about this phase of history, both in the past and the present, but the real cause of this extraordinary event of history is still an enigma to the Christian West. We are not concerned here with the political history of Islam; but the real boon brought to West in the wake of this history, in the form of social, intellectual, mental and moral awakening in the Middle Ages, is the root cause of the "Renaissance" of modern Europe. In this sense the Arab dominance for a number of centuries all along the shores of Buherai Rum (Sea of the Romans), the modern Mediter-

ranian, proved to be a blessing in disguise to Europe. "Peace hath its victories no less renowned than war", proved to be too true in this case. The effect of this cultural impact has been felt in Europe right up to the end of the eighteenth century, five hundred years after the source was practically extinguished from the scene".

Fired with the injunctions and teachings of the Quran and inspired by the noble examples of their holy prophet and his companions, the Muslim Conquerors, while paying due regard to the relics of old arts and civilizations learnings and philosophy of the conquered people and adhering steadfastly to the principles of Tauhid (Unity of God) and Risalat (Prophet-hood), they had no hesitation in adopting the best elements of the culture and Society of the conquered races. This intermixture of cultures led to the broadening of men's minds and ideas and proved an important factor in emancipating medieval mind from the shackles of priestly dominations, intellectual and social backwardness.

—Its causes.

The real factor in the development and spread of Islamic culture among all established religions and national communities of the world was that Islam was the first to recognize that every human being has a right to acquire knowledge and learning according to his own

taste and liking. Since the emergence of human beings into a settled social order and the beginning of civilization, learning had been confined to special privileged classes, mostly priests, sooth-sayers and necromancers. And it was in their interest to keep the common people off the portals of learnings, so that they might more easily and to a greater extent be exploited and kept in surveillance. Even Greece, the cradle of democracy and centre of intellectual and rational awakening, could not rise above this social prejudice. The common man, everywhere, even in such advanced countries as Egypt and India was prevented from having access to knowledge on pain of severe penalties.

Islam, on the other hand, made it obligatory for all men, high or low, to acquire knowledge. In fact the first institution of education set up in Mecca and Medina was meant for the poor and to them were admitted all persons without distinction of rank and position, who evinced any keenness or aptitude for learning. This democratization of learning was in perfect accord with the liberal and humanitarian principles of Islam and practice of the Holy Prophet, and it tended to liberate and awaken human spirit and mind.

Islam, being a revolutionary faith, made it compulsory for every man and woman to

acquire knowledge and exhorted them to undertake long and tedious journeys to distant lands in search of it. For, social and political revolutions get nourishment from the fountain of education, and intellectual awakening, and besides, democratic institutions can exist on education alone. It was this spirit of mental liberation and freedom from intellectual prejudice in every corner of the world, that led to the creation of a balanced and integrated society, distinguished from other social and cultural systems by its unquenchable thirst for knowledge and enquiry.

The history of education is really a record of whatever stands to the credit and glory of man's achievement in the field of culture and social organization, since the beginning of the world. Its close association with religion, a mighty social force, hastened the process of civilizing mankind, as soon as man emerged from the stage, where he lived like animals and moved freely among them. Coming out of this state of wildness, his quest for knowledge of things and a legitimate sense of superiority over his surroundings developed. Religion and education, both, spurred him on to improve his social conditions and the status of society. Education, being an essential factor of civilization, was bound to play an important role in human development. In fact it contributed more than any other agency to the

Education
and culture
interlinked
different—
stages of
growth.

growth of society. It also helped in preserving and transmitting to the future generations the fruits of human achievements.

The second stage of progress began with the organization of family life among men and their division into social groups and tribes, after leaving their jungle haunts and forest abodes. They now spread about in search of fresh fields and pastures new, where they could settle down and earn livelihood. They also needed protection from the ravages of wild beasts, hostile bands of opponents and inclemency of weather. Their Odyssey led them to places situated on the banks and into the valleys and deltas of great rivers. The fertile regions sprawling on the banks of the Nile, the Euphrates and the Indus afforded them the needed protection, held out prospects of better living and inspired them with a sense of solidarity and community of purpose. Thus was laid the beginning of human civilization in prehistoric age and its first ray dawned on the East. The Eastern countries situated on the banks of the river Nile and Euphrates and the Mediterranean Sea became the cradle of civilization. At that time, some other countries of the East, like India and Persia were also enjoying full blaze of learning and culture. It is difficult to say which of these countries took precedence in the intellectual race, but certain it is that they benefited from the progress and advance

acheived by each of these ancient countries in civilization and culture. A study of educational methods of countries in ancient times in its various phases and the principles and main objects underlying the system of education furnish an important and instructive chapter of the development of society. But here we are not concerned with this study. Our main object is to estimate critically the contribution of Islam to the development of education and culture in different regions, especially the Pak. Indo Continent.

Islams
emphasis on
Education.

In order to ascertain the extent to which Islam has encouraged education and learning, it is enough to note that the first revelation to the Prophet was 'Read in the name of thy Lord.' God has clearly impressed upon man that He, through His benevoence, bestowed on man the gift of knowledge. The Holy Quran at a number of places lays emphasis on the observation of the Universe and nature. As observation and study are the bases of all science and knowledge, it has been said in Surai Baqr 'Verily, in the creation of Heaven and the earth and the difference between night and day and the ships that fly on the ocean and what Allah sends down from the sky (as water), thereby reviving the earth after its death—In all these there are signs of Allah for people who use their brain.

In these verses there are hints in respect of the various branches of learning. For example, the creation of Heaven hints at the study of astronomy and investigations into space, the birth of the earth draws attention to Geology, the change of day and night to physical geography, the voyage by ships and the gains derived therefrom provides an incentive for maritime knowledge, for ship engineering and commerce; the rains and through them the rejuvenation of the barren land gives inducement to agriculture, the mention of beasts, spread over the earth, implies the study of Zoology. In short the Quran is never tired of advising man to use brain and exercise the faculty of their mind.

At another place the Holy Quran says 'Certainly, Allah showed clemency to the faithful, when he sent to them a Prophet from among their own, who recities to them his commandments, purifies them and teaches them the Book and Wisdom'. In this verse two things have been cleared (1) that the Prophet is the teacher who teaches the book and wisdom and (2) that he purifies the soul. This means that the aim of education is not only the reading of books, but also to make man civilized and cultured. Besides this, in the Quran, at several places, learning and the learned have been praised. In Sura Zumur occurs 'Can the learned and the illiterate be of the same

status. Are those, who know, equal with those who know not.?' At another place in Sura Tubah Allah addressing the Prophet enjoins him to pray for increase in the knowledge.

Holy prophet's emphasis on acquisition of knowledge.

The Prophet himself has often pressed for the acquisition of knowledge. Several traditions are extant in this respect, e.g., 'Seek knowledge even if it is found in China' or 'The scholar and the students are the best of human beings. At another place the Holy Prophet has said 'Learned people are the heirs of prophets'. Mr. Frank Rushden, an American orientalist of eminence says, 'the acquisition of knowledge has been a mainstay of Islamic faith since its enunciation by the Prophet Muhammad (Sallah-o-'Alaihe. Wasallum) nearly 1400 years ago. The everlasting beauty and sublimity of the Prophets' appeal is summed up in the following quotations, 'Acquire knowledge, it enableth the possessor to distinguish right from wrong, it lighteth the way to the heaven, it is our friend in the desert, our society in solitude, our companion in friendlessness, it guideth us to happiness, it sustains us in misery, it is an ornament among friends, and an armour against enemies'.

It is noteworthy that most of the verses which relate to reading, writing and acquisition of knowledge were revealed in Mecca and it was in Mecca that the Prophet had appointed

amanuensis for writing the revelations. This is borne out by the circumstances in which Hazrat 'Umar embraced Islam. When he entered into the house of his sister, he found that his sister and his brother-in-law were reciting the verses which they had in written form. The Prophet before his migration to Medina had sent a teacher there to arrange for the education of the Muslims. When after Hijrat Prophet's mosque was constructed it served as the first Muslim School also. Then, a covered platform was raised in front of the house of the Prophet. This platform used to be called 'Suffa' and in the daytime served the purpose of a school and at night-that of a boarding house. Higher education was imparted by the Prophet himself, while the elementary education was entrusted to young volunteers.

When 15 months after the Hijrat, the battles of Badar was won the ransom fixed by the Prophet for a literate captive was that he should teach, reading and writing, to the Muslim children of Medina. In this way Hazrat Zaid bin Sabit and others learnt reading and writing. In 'Suffa' the Muslims were given instructions in Quran, Jurisprudence and also in Phonetics. Some of the homeless students used to reside permanently in Suffa and the Prophet had arranged for their boarding. Day scholars also used to attend the classes.

The Prophet entrusted young men with responsible duties, according to their capacities and allowed them the opportunity of specialising in one branch of learning, or the other, e.g., Zaid bin Sabit was specialist in Arithmetic and also excelled in the Law of Inheritance. Tribes coming from outside were also educated at 'Suffa'. Soon, besides Suffa, Medina claimed no less than nine mosques, where education was imparted. The education of women was in the charge of the Prophet's trustworthy men and he himself visited their classes once a week and even taught them.

The Quran condemns the attitude of those who make knowledge a monopoly of their own, use it for cheating the poor, ignorant people and for the destruction of mankind. According to the Quranic spirit, knowledge should neither be considered the monopoly of a particular class or race, nor should be used to misguide and to destroy the humanity. Like bread and water, it is a rightful claim of all human beings and should be given to all of them.

In the light of the commandments of the 'Quran' and the traditions, the Muslims, in all times, retained learning and its diffusion as a distinctive accomplishment of their social life, because it was an article of faith to them. The culture and polity of Islam is based on

education and the companions of the Prophet and after them the Muslim saints considered acquiring and imparting of learning as one of their religious obligations.

Within ten years following the death of the Prophet the Muslim rule had been established over ten lakh square miles and it was felt imperative to have a system of education for this vast area. The Governors of the various provinces had orders to arrange for the educational needs of their respective provinces. With the expansion of the territories under the great Caliphate the educational arrangements had also expanded. During the caliphate of Hazrat Umar Farooq education received great impetus. In all subjugated areas schools were established and for the first time teachers were given salaries. For the children of the nomad tribes, reading of the 'Quran' was made compulsory. Besides reading and writing, archery and swimming were also taught.

Hazrat 'Usman Ghani used to say, "Teach your children archery and swimming. Give them training in reading and let them learn good verses of poetry."

In the light of the Prophet's command 'Seek knowledge, even if it be in Cin, (China)'; travelling for study was regarded a religious obligation and the seeker of knowledge un-

The Great Caliphate and Education.

Travel for Study.

grudgingly undertook all the troubles of the tiresome journey. Ibne Khaldun is of the opinion that travelling is necessary for education, for even the most learned scholars cannot claim to have command over all the branches of learning. It is, therefore, essential to visit places, where experts of the various branches reside and to get benefit from their knowledge and company.

The Education of Women.

In view of the Prophet's command that to acquire knowledge is the duty of all Muslim men and women, the Muslims never stood in the way of Women's education; on the other hand, they gave special attention to it. According to Baladhuri, in the nearly days of Islam, there were in Mecca only two ladies who could read and write and two more who could read only. As has been said before, the Prophet himself inspected the education of women once a week and gave necessary instructions to his wives, who usually looked after it. Enthusiasm for women's education continued to grow, but they were generally given education at home and their tutors, besides teaching them theology, tried to inculcate in them the true Islamic culture, and character. With the diffusion of culture, women are found associated with almost all cultural activities.

Early Curriculum.

In the early days of Islam, wherever the Muslims went as conquerors, they lost no time

in establishing schools. This is why today the Arabic language is the mother tongue of Egypt Iraq, Syria and the whole of the northern part of Africa. Along with the Arabic language the Quranic philosophy of Divine Unity, the etiquette and character of the Prophet and the importance of paying obedience to none but Allah were also taught. As for the explanation of the Quranic verses, there could be no better system of elucidation than the sayings and doings of the Prophet. Attention was turned towards Hadith. This resulted in coming in existence of the science of Hadith, the principles of Hadith, and the Islamic Jurisprudence, which were included among subjects prescribed for higher education.

As mentioned before, the Islamic system of education originated in the days of Holy Prophet (peace be upon him), with *maktabs* (private elementary schools). Being attached with houses of worships, it followed inevitably that religion became the basis of primary and higher education. The practice of the Prophet was followed, in subsequent ages, in different parts of the Muslim world. The mosques were so designed as to accommodate people for congregational prayers and to serve the purpose of imparting education. Most of them were equipped with libraries and provided residential accommodation for students and teachers; scholars and divines of reputation were invited

Origin of Islamic System of Education role of mosques and khonqas

to deliver lectures for the benefit of students and the people of the surrounding area.

A great advantage of the *maktabs* and the *madresas* attached with mosques and *khanqah* (monasteries) was that religious and moral training was received side by side with education. Precepts and practices, inculcation of faith and stimulus to good deed, virtuous living, moral purification and social justice went together. Even more than that, the closer co-operation and cordial relationship, cultivated between teachers and students, living under the roof of a place of divine worship, the gathering of students for receiving education and saying prayers five times a day under the leadership of a scholar or divine created a high sense of fraternity and consciousness of collective existence which tended to impart great solidarity and social cohesiveness to the Muslim society. This sense of oneness and unity, breathed among the faction—torn Arabs by the message of Islam, and strengthened by the noble example of the great Prophet, was sustained and nourished by the maktab system of education for several centuries, during which the Arabs and other Muslims performed wonders in the field of action and thought; though events, taking place a quarter of a century after the demise of the holy Prophet, unfortunately, revived the traditional tribal feud and led to the break-up of tribal jealousy and disinte-

gration of the entire Islamic world, some six centuries later.

In the time of the Umayyads and the Abbassids the *maktabs* attached to mosques, or set up by religious-minded, affluent persons at their houses or adjacent to them and open for the children and grown-up persons of all communities played an important role not only in spreading education, both among Muslims and non Muslims, but also in building their character and investing them with useful qualities of leadership and virtues of service to humanity. Institutions for higher education and even universities, which became a model on which universities in Europe were, later on, set up, were developed on the basis of these *maktabs*. The great Jamia Al-Azhar and Madrasa-i-Mustansaria are the finest examples of such institution. In India the Muslim conquerors, founder, of ruling dynasties, as well as provincial governors, lost no time in creating endowments for the construction of mosque, and extending their patronage in other forms for cultural advancement. The first builders of Islamic state in India Muhammed bin Qasim was very fond of building mosques at every important place, which fell to his arms. He had definite instructions from Hajjaj, the governor of the Umayyad ruler Abdul Malik, not to leave any conquered place without a mosque, and Ibn Qasim complied literally with

his orders. Though there is no mention in histories of Sind that these mosques had madrasas attached to them, yet it is clear as Mufti Intizamullah Shahabi argues in his forthcoming book "Evolution of the Syllabi of Islamic Education in India"; that but for the existence of madrasa in each mosque, it would not have been possible to get supply of Imams, Khatibs and Mulezzins.

Under Ghaznavi and Ghauri conquerors, particularly under the latter, the Muslim conquests were consolidated and organised into a large Islamic state. True to Islamic tradition the Sultans, their nobles and officials made substantial contribution to culture and learning. Many education institutions, mostly private and parts of masjids, were founded. They continued to serve educational needs of the people not only in big towns, but also in villages, long after the Muslim domination over India had been weakened and foreigners had exhausted all their might and resources to efface out existence all traces of Islamic intellectual and cultural achievements in the Sub-Continent, upto the first two/decades of the present century we find traces of the maktabas flourishing at places far removed from big centres of population.

Certain sections of the Hindus—Kayastas, Kashmiries, Khatri etc. considered a privilege

to join the maktabas for getting education and it is an admitted fact that the products of the institutions were found far better equipped intellectually than those, who studied in indigenous patshalas (Hindu schools).

The popularity of maktabas and madrasas and superiority of the system of education followed therein were main reasons of their survival in a flourishing condition, even though the central and regional Islamic States had been disintegrating fast and Muslim society was facing progressive dissolution during eighteenth century. Contemporary literature of Christian missionaries and reports of the educational officers and provincial administrators of the East India Company fully bear out these facts.

The upsurge of the chauvinistic-cum-revivalist Hindu movement and consequent spread of the virus of communal hatred in the Sub-Continent, particularly since the last quarter of the 19th Century, led to the rapid disappearance of the landmarks of true national integration and Hindu—Muslim cordiality, springing from the benevolent rule of Muslim kings and their achievements in the field of culture and knowledge. Maktabas also could not resist long the terrible impact of Western deluge and Hindu vindictiveness.

The Arabs, when they left their home for

spreading the message of Islam to distant lands, possessed, of course, the inimitable Quran, which had, in a short time broadened their outlook, extended their intellectual vision and familiarised them with a new way of life and a new code of moral and social virtues. But of finished and positive learning, they knew very little. Acting upon the commandments of the Holy Quran, their most precious possession, the Muslims set to studying the universe and went to the extent of emphasising that man with his knowledge could control the sun, the moon and other planets. And further, following the precepts of the holy Prophet Muhammed (peace be on him) who had told the Muslim that 'humanity had acquired knowledge in the past, they had to gather it from whatever source it was available and the develop it,' they not only collected and preserved the heritage of India and China in the East and Greece in the West, but also made their own definite contributions in different branches of knowledge. Acknowledging the indebtedness of Europe to the Arabs and Muslims a Western orientalist pays them tribute in these words. "The debt of our science to the Arabs and Muslims does not consist in starting discoveries. Science owes a great deal more to Arab culture, it owes its existence to it. The Greeks systematised, generalised, but the patient way of investigation, the accumulation of positive knowledge, the minute methods of

science, detailed and prolonged observations and experimental enquiries were altogether alien to Greek temperaments. What we call science in Europe is the result of a new spirit of enquiries, of new methods of investigations, of new methods of experiments, observations, measurements, of the development of mathematics in a form, unknown to the Greeks. The spirit and these methods were introduced into the European world by the Arabs." (Briffault)

In the history of Islam the Umayyads, who established dynastic rule to meet the problems of a rapidly expanding empire, and save the nascent Islamic Community from extinction, hold a position of distinction among the numerous ruling dynasties, set up in different parts of the world in several succeeding centuries. It was not merely the territorial extension in the East and West that was aimed at; many rulers of this dynasty, as well as their generals, governors and officials, were fired with the noble zeal of lighting the torch of learning and culture and carrying it to the dark recesses of the world for civilising and enlightening the people, groping in ignorance and superstition. They tried to establish close affinity and understanding with tribes, and nations, subdued by them with a view, primarily, to maintaining peace and preserving old civilisation and learning.

The
Umayyads.

The Umayyad caliphs of Damascus, most

of them, if not all, displayed great curiosity for all branches of learning, art and science, with which they became familiar in the course of their vast conquests. They liberally supported cultural efforts and patronage of learning made by their representatives in far-off lands, which had come within the pale of Islam. They were allowed to spend huge amounts from the treasury on purchasing books, on awarding scholars and even on sending men of high erudition, to whichever caste or creed they might belong, to Damascus on salaries, which, at present, might appear fabulous and fantastic.

To bring education within the reach of common people, the Caliphs and men of means constructed mosques, with attached schools and accommodation for students and teachers. These mosques soon became centres of learning. Every room and available space in spacious mosques was utilised by teachers and students, who gathered round them, forming themselves in tutorial groups. Some mosques, as Hitti says, contained numerous such group meetings at a time. Kufa and Busra, two principal cities of Iraq, which were originally military camps, set up by Huzrat 'Umar, developed in the Umayyad period, into centres of the most animated intellectual activities in the Islamic world, (Hitti, P. 241).

The Arabs wisely shunned the study of new

arts and sciences through foreign languages, which would have retarded their intellectual growth and originality of thought and idea. Instead, the government set up translation bureaux, where standard books from every country, and treasures of old civilisations were brought at huge cost and rendered into Arabic version for the benefit of the Arabs, Muslims, Christians, Jews, all. In the appointment of translators exemplary impartiality and freedom from racial, or religious prejudices was exercised. Among those who enjoyed high state patronage, drew highest salaries and commanded universal respect, the non-muslims had an enviable share.

The system of education under the Umayyads was the same, which was introduced by the holy Prophet himself and which had been followed by the four successors or 'True khalifas'. The system was based upon the study of Quran and Traditions 'and the twin sciences of Philology and Lexicography'. Subsequently the syllabus was extended by the addition of Islamic jurisprudence, Logic and history. A beginning was also made to include new sciences, such as Mathematics, Geography, Physics and scholasticism. According to Philip K. Hitti, the well known historian of the Arabs, 'we can also detect the rudiment of many those religio-philosophical studies which were later to shake Islam to its

foundation'. But this really relates to the succeeding period of the 'Abbasi khilafat and will be dealt with in its proper place.

The Abbasids

With the decisive defeat in the battle of Zab and the fall of Damascus the Umayyad sovereignty came to an end, and the great rival and sworn enemy of this dynasty the Abbasids, who had been carrying on, through their secret agents, devastating propaganda and stirring up open rebellions against them, at last, succeeded in snatching the sceptre from their hands. We are not concerned here with their armed victories and territorial conquests, which are memorable in the annals of Islamic history; we are only concerned with their achievements in the field of education, arts, science and industry, that constitute an imperishable monument of their glorious regime. In the words of Hitti 'the victory of Muslim arms (under the Abbasids) shed its lustre on their period.....but what has rendered this age specially illustrious in world annals is the fact that it witnessed the most momentous intellectual awakening in the history of Islam and one of the most significant in the whole history of thought and culture. Starting with very little science, philosophy or literature of his own, the Arab Muslim who brought with him from the desert, a keen sense of intellectual curiosity, a voracious appetite for learning and many latent faculties, soon became.....the bene-

ficiary and heir of the older and more cultured peoples whom he conquered or encountered' (History of the Arabs page 30.).

Justice Syed Amir Ali, writing on the same subject says "Their (Arabs') achievements were not restricted to any particular branch of science or literature, but ranged over the whole course of the domain of intellect. Speculative philosophy and belles-letters were cultivated with as much avidity as exact sciences. Mathematics astronomy, the science of medicine etc., all made gigantic strides during this period of Asiatic civilisation: its intellectual heritage passed both into the Saracenic Spain and Christian Constantinople, whence it descended to modern Europe". The early Abbasi caliphs, Al-Mehdi and Harun-ur-Rashid, found time in the midst of military campaigns and reorganisation of administrative machinery, to promote learning and research and patronise cultural and social activities of all sections of their subjects. But the caliph, whose reign witnessed sudden outburst of intellectual awakening in all directions and in every sphere of thought and speculation is Al-Mamun-ur-Rashid (813-833 A.D).

The caliph Al-Mamun was fired by the spirit of enquiry and investigation, created by the deep and intelligent study of the Holy Quran. In the words of his biographer, Shibli Noamani, 'Al-Mamun is the greatest scholar

among all the important Muslim rulers.' He was a devoted student of different religious and secular sciences. He sincerely believed that the true happiness and prosperity of his people depended on the progress of education and culture. He had no faith in individual contributions of Caliphs and nobles, to the advancement of learning. Hence he created permanent endowments for the purpose of starting, and supporting educational institutions, throughout his dominion. Prof: A.M. Shustary, writing about such institutions under the Abbasids, observes, 'During the reign of Al-Mamun large number of richly endowed schools were opened, a University was founded, libraries were organised and an observatory was set up. In many schools, Muslims and non-muslims studied together and learned men without distinction of religion and race were honoured and supported. It had become fashion for rulers and wealthy nobles and ministers to become patrons of learning.'

True to the principle of religious toleration, the distinguishing trait of Islam and Islamic polity, Al-Mamun showed great liberality and large-heartedness towards non-Muslims, who enjoyed under him full human rights, liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, Jews, Christians, Sabians and Zoroastrians were on equal footing with the Muslims. According to

Mr. Justice Amir Ali there were 11000 churches, besides hundreds of synagogues and fire-temples. In the sphere of education, too, learned men, irrespective of their creed and race were held in high esteem and were given high posts in schools, colleges and in that great centre of learning and research, known as Baitul-Hikmat.

The work of translation had already started under the Umayyads. An Umayyad prince Khalid bin Yazid, was the first to produce the translation of Greek and Coptic works on Alchemy, and himself wrote three treatises on it. The accession of the Abbasids, however, gave a great impetus to such studies. Works on logic, medicine and history, etc, were translated from the Pehlevi. It is, however, in the reign of Al-Mamun that such cultural activities and enrichment of Arabic through translation reached its zenith.

Al-Mamun, as is generally known to every student of Islamic history, was a great lover of human reason and passionately fond of Philosophy. He had a great liking for Aristotle's works. He sent a deputation to the Roman Emperor to obtain the books of Aristotle's and other books on science for translation into Arabic. In compliance with the Caliphs' wish, though after a great deal of hesitation and questioning, a large number of books were despatched to Baghdad. Many renowned

scholars and men of learning of different nations were assembled at Baitul-Hikmat and were set to work on the translation of these books under Royal patronage. The work of translating books from ancient foreign languages, specially Greek, already started by Muslims under the Umayyads, was promoted to the highest level by the Abbasids. The reign of Al-Mamun marks the full vigour of the oriental renaissance. He had established in the year 830 A.D. the famous House of wisdom (Baitul-Hikmat) which in the words of Hitti 'In many respects formed the most important educational institution, since the foundation of the Alexandrian Museum in the first of the third century, B.C.'

The Caliph's example was followed by private individuals. Three brothers Muhammad, Ahmad and Hasan, who were courtiers of Mamun and were themselves masters of Geometry, Music and other arts and Sciences, drew translators from distant countries by the offer of ample rewards, and also got collected the books of science and philosophy from different parts of the world.

Among the celebrated translators and employees of the Bait-al-Hikmat were such important scholars as Qusta B. Luqa, Hunayan b. Ishaq, Yakoob Kindi, Yuhanna, Masawayh Ibnal-Batriq; Muhammad b. Musa and others.

Hunayn Ibn Ishaq (809-873) A. D. was the greatest among the Arab translators. He was one of the greatest scholars of his age. He won reputation as a translator and as practitioner. He had a skill in different languages like Greek, Syriac and Arabic. He was appointed by Mamun, the Superintendent of his Bait-al-Hikmat, where he, in collaboration with his son Ishaq, and his nephew Hubaysh b. Al-Hasan and many other colleagues and pupils, rendered hundreds of Greek books into Syriac and Arabic.

In addition to his translation work he is credited to have produced many original works. Many of his translations and original works have survived to our times, (Cf. Ency of Islam).

Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, had several contemporaries who are considered great translators, besides some ninety pupils who undertook similar works of less importance. In the former class were his nephew Hubaysh, his son Ishaq, the great physician and mathematician, Thabit Ibn Qurra of Harran and Qusta-Ibn-Luqa. All of them produced besides translation, also works of their own composition, the titles of which run into hundreds. In the first half of the ninth century scientific works in Syriac language predominated, but as the century wore on, Arabic works became more numerous.

Another great translator and philosopher was Abu Yusuf Yaqoob b. Ishaq al-Kindi, known as 'Faylasuf' al-'Arab; the philosopher of the Arabs. He was born at Kufa, educated in Basra and Baghdad and other great centres of education and was also among the translators and editors of Greek philosophical works in the academy, Bait al-Hikmat. Al-Kindi was not only a great Muslim philosopher but also a great astrologer, alchemist, optician and music theorist. No less than two hundred and sixtyfive works are ascribed to him. Hitti writes about him "and indeed he was the first and last example of an Aristotelian student in the Eastern Caliphate, who sprang from Arabian stock. He endeavoured in Neo-platonic fashion to combine the views of Plato and Aristotle and regarded the new Pythagorean mathematics as the basis of all sciences.

Thabit Ibn Qurra (825-901 A. D.) was another celebrated translator, astronomer and physician, who also flourished in Baghdad and rendered remarkable service to the cause of knowledge by translating the bulk of the mathematical and astronomical works. He and his pupils even improved on earlier translations of the Greek works; he also did original work.

Thus the "House of Wisdom" (Baitul-Hikmat) established by Al-Mamun proved to

be the most important educational institution of the Middle ages. Beginning with Al-Mamun and continuing under his immediate successors the work of translation was completed during the ninth century of the Christian era. At the end of the period of translation, the physicians, scientists and philosophers of the Islamic world stood on a firm foundation of Greek science, increased by a large share of Persian, Indian and their own thought and experience. From this time, relying upon their own resources the Muslim world produced persons like Razi, Ibn Sina, Al-Farabi and others, whose monumental works, taught and studied in colleges and Universities, established in Spain, at Baghdad and many other important centres of knowledge in Islamic* world lit the lamp of learning, which gave birth to 'New Learning' or Renaissance, in Europe.

*Some of the important institutions were Madrasa-i-Nizamiya founded by the great minister Nizamul Mulk Yusi, at Baghdad, at which the greatest Muslim philosopher-theologian, Imam Razi taught for several years. The wellknown Madrasa-i-Mustansaria flourished in the time of Fatimids. This was followed by a network of such institutions in North-Africa and other countries of Islamic world. Mahmud of Ghazni surpassed all other Muslim rulers in this respect by establishing a large number of Madrasas in principal towns of his dominion. The school at Ghazni, in the foundation of which he took keen personal interest, was started in a splendid building constructed by the Sultan himself at a huge cost. For its maintenance a big endowment was created. It was furnished with a magnificent library for the benefit of teachers and students. The entire school establishment of the Madrasa formed part of a stately mosque, which was built in 1019 A.D. (410 Hijra). Ferishta, Vol No.1.

which, under church influence, had fallen deep in the abyss of ignorance and superstition. Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, an intelligent and discerning student of comparative religious and a profound scholar, thus observes in his book 'Islamic culture:

"The Muslims set out on their search for learning in the name of God, at a time when Christians were destroying all the learning of the ancients in the name of Christ. They had destroyed the library of Alexandria, they had murdered many philosophers, including the beautiful Hypatia . . . the manuscripts of Greek and Roman learning were publicly burnt by the priests. The Western Romans had succumbed to barbarism, The Eastern Roman Emperors kept their libraries and entertained some learned men, but within their palace walls. The priests ruled everything beyond."

In Islamic
Spain

Abdur Rehman III built the great Mosque, one of the finest in the world and founded a university in it, which rose to such pre-eminence among the world's famous educational institutions that it attracted students from all over the world. Abdur Rehman's son Al-Hakam for excelled his father in educational and cultural activities. Being a profound scholar himself, he established 27 free schools at his capital and introduced a system of grants for scholars. His reign was torn by revolts

and he had to divert his attention to their suppression. But he did not neglect to promote the cause of educational uplift. He set up endowments for giving salaries to professors and scholars, who came from foreign countries to teach at the University. Al-Hakam's name will ever be remembered in connection with the foundation of several libraries, one of which is said to have contained 4,00,000 (Four Lakh) books, many of which were imported from Eastern and Islamic countries.

The world of Islam after about six centuries of intellectual advancement, during which it produced the brilliant scholars, philosophers, scientists and artists of repute began to decline. To understand the depths the Muslims had fallen into, in the 19th century, one should ponder and analyse the words of Holy Qur'an: "Verily, God will not transform the state of a people until they change their own state".

The Islamic contact with the Sub-Continent began soon after the advent of Islam in Arabia and during the days of Khilafat-i-Rashida, Arab merchants and missionaries settled in coast towns in Western and Southern India. They were given protection and facilities by the rulers of these places and the Muslim Arabs had thus formed their colonies for preaching Islam and carrying on trade.

Education
in Muslim
India.

In 712 Muhammad bin Kasim was sent by

Hajjaj bin Yusuf, governor of Iraq, with the permission of the Umayyad Caliph of Damascus to conquer Sind, Muhammad's short-lived conquests in Sind did not produce permanent political results, but culturally and intellectually their effects were more enduring and beneficial. The Indo-Arab relation extended to the field learning and scholarship. As was their practice, the Arabs evinced great interest in exploring Hindu civilisation and the various branches of learning in which they had specialised. Not satisfied with this, they persuaded many Hindu scholars, mathematicians and astronomers to the court of Caliphs, where they received great patronage and rich rewards for helping the Arab men of letters in translating Sanskrit books in Arabic and carrying investigation in the learning and science of the Hindus. Their successors, the Abbasids, further promoted intellectual coordination between Arab and India. The Arab civilization and Islamic culture and arts, likewise, produced great effect on Hindu society. The social outlook of the Hindus was broadened to some extent and caste restrictions were loosened.

Muhammad bin Kasim, like many other Arab conquerors, built mosques at every place which he occupied and started maktabas and madrasas for disseminating education.

He thus established a practice, which was

followed by Muslim rulers, when the Sub-Continent came under the crescent.

The next conquerors Mahmud of Ghazni and Shahabuddin Muhammed Ghorî by the startling success of their arms cleared the way for the establishment of Muslim empire in India. Though Mahmud of Ghazni did not get time in the midst of stormy campaigns and military engagements in India and elsewhere, yet he beautified Ghazni, 'the Celestial Bride,' with buildings of schools, colleges and universities and set up centres of learning and enlightenment in some parts of India, specially Lahore.

The Muslim empire established in India by Sultan Shahabuddin and his brave general Qutbuddin Aibak continued for more than seven centuries. This long period of rule witnessed the rise to power of the Turk-Afghan Sultans and the Mughal emperors. The first period, though a time of constant civil wars, rebellions and rapid dynastic changes, was, strangely enough, a glorious age of intellectual advancement, promotion of learning and propagation of Islam through peaceful and human efforts.

The system of education introduced in India was the same as formulated in the time of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him). It

revolved round the basic principles of faith and reflected the spirit of Quran and Sunnah. The scholars, even those, who did not belong to the teaching profession, considered it a duty and a part of religious obligation to impart education to other, and help in its wide dissemination. Mosque, were the greatest centres, where student, flocked to receive instruction and attended lectures by forming hundreds of study circles in rooms and open spaces, provided in the precincts of mosques.

But it should not be supposed that education was rigidly confined to religious instruction to the total exclusion of all other subjects of practical utility or professional skill. Far from it. There were technical and commercial school in which arts, handicrafts, and method of keeping accounts were taught. Training in the use of arms and weapons and methods of warfare was a popular subject for which a number of institution were setup. Similarly, other useful arts like calligraphy building craft, civil engineering, pottery and earthenware industry attracted large number of apprentices to training centres, where expert and skilled men explained technique and gave practical demonstrations to their pupils. The government and private patronage to the cultivation of arts and crafts and the facilities provided to common people for their acquirement were responsible for the steady and unfailing supply of material

artists and manufacturers at all times to satisfy the demands of an advanced civilisation and high standard of living in the society that was in the process of evolution in the Sub-Continent, under Muslim rule.

In the thirteenth century the Muslim power in India had been extended and consolidated due to the vigorous foreign policy and stern, impartial administration of Sultan Iltutmish (1210-1236) and Balban (1266-1288). The Muslim culture and social institutions were striking root in the Indian soil and Hindu society had begun to feel full impact of new influences. Education was spreading even in far off regions of India and Islam was making headway through the preachings and personal magnetism of the Sufis. Royal patronage of, and private efforts in, education were in line with the traditional policy of Muslim rulers all over the world. Mosques, madrasas and Khanqahs were multiplying everywhere*

The Mongol inroads in Islamic world and the terrible bloodshed and devastation caused by them, led to the immigration of Muslim scholars, saints and persons of high status into

* The author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, specially mentions the efforts of Muhammad, Bakhtiyar Khilji, the first Muslim conqueror of Bengal in a very short time and spite of his involvement in military expedition and civil war, built large number of schools, mosques and madrasas at many places. His nobles and officials also followed suit with him in spreading education.

India. They settled mostly at Lahore, Multan and Thatta.

In the reign of Balban a large number of Muslim refugees, including a crowd of writers, poets, litterateurs, artists and men of skill came to live Delhi. The Sultan paid great reverence to them big stipends and made personal enquiries about their personal comforts. A large number of them were appointed as teachers and lecturers in colleges. They proved instrumental in introducing every branch of learning and art known in mediaeval age to the people of Delhi, Jaunpur and other places. The court of the martyred prince Muhammad, eldest son and heir-designate of Balban had acquired wide-spread fame for patronage of knowledge and learning in all Islamic countries. This attracted men of high scholarship and learning to India. (Barni pp. 46, 47 Dr. I. H. Qureshy. p. 179)

In the following century the tempo of educational and cultural activities was maintained under Khilji rulers, while the Tughlak Sultan Muhammad Tughlak and Firoz Tughlak played important role in giving further impetus to the spread of learning and arts not only in the north, but also in the Deccan, where Daulatabad, the new capital, became the centre of culture and learning.

Sultan 'Alauddin though illiterate showed

interest in the promotion of religious and secular emoluments to the learned men of his empire. A large number of distinguished scholars and artists enjoyed the benefit of his munificence, though his neggardliness in other matters is well known. (Dr. I. H. Qureshy, P. 180.)

Muhammad Tughlak was generous to a fault in awarding talents and in patronising men of genius. Being himself a great scholar, he took delight in the society of the learned, with whom he loved to hold discussions and argue delicate and intrecate points of philosophy, theology and speculative sciences. The contemporary historians speak highly of the Sultan's intrest in the establishment of schools and madrasa, whose number rose to one thousand in Delhi alone. The teacher, were given fixed salaries from the royal treasury. In addition to religion, such subject as Mathematics and rational science were also tught. (Maqrazi quoted by Manazir Ahsan Gilani, Abul Hasanat Nadvi and Khurshid Ahmad.)

The well-known madrasa, Firoze shahi, founded by Sultan Firoz Tughlak was a university in itself. It had no equal in outward grandeur, internal discipline and high standard of teaching. The building of the school was spacious and picturequely situated teachers and students mixed freely and held discussion. An atmosphere of complete inte-

lectual freedom and cordiality was the chief feature of this institution. Firoz Tughlak's broad-minded outlook and liberal attitude towards learning is reflected that when he stormed the fort of Nagarkot, he gave special instructions to his men not to destroy books recovered from the temple. All these books written in Sanskrit and dealing with ancient sciences in which the Hindus had made great progress were safely and carefully shifted to Delhi, just as some important relics of ancient monuments were carried at huge cost to the capital. An important Sanskrit book was in to persion with the help of learned Hindu scholars. In the same way, not only the archaeological monuments were preserved at Delhi, but many Brahmin pundits were invited from different parts of India and were set to decipher the writings on these pillars. Firoz Tughlak spent enormous money on these projects.

After Firoz Tughlak's death in 1388 the cause of learning and promotion of knowledge suffered set-back as a result of Timur's invasion and a series of political disturbances, following it. Fortunately, however, this decline and an-anarchy proved shortlived, and even in this period the light of learning was not totally extinguished. The states, founded on the ruins of the Tughlak's dynasty, in different parts of the country extended full patronage

to the cause of enlightenment. The independent states like Jaunpur, Bengal etc., and Bahmanis as well as their successors in the Deccan Muslim states, became important centres of educational and cultural activities.

The Delhi Sultanate by its brilliant achievements in the field of learning and scholarship left a glorious legacy, which was no less important and epoch-making than there preservation of the Islamic State itself. Their more lucky successors on the throns of Delhi, the Mughals, improved to a remarkable degree both the cultural and political aspects of empire-building so gloriously that the splendour of their precursors was dimmed, yet it deserves the title of culture state just as much as the empire of the great Mughals. (Dr. I. H. Qureishy Page 177)

Sultan Behlol Lodi, an important Afghan noble, founded the first Afghan ruling dynasty which though short-lived has a great claim on the memory of the posterity. In the time of his successor Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1449—1517) the cause of intellectual progress continued to advance. A great characteristic of this scholar-Sultan was that he gave every encouragement to his Hindu subjects to study Islamic learning and arts. The Hindus began to attend maktabas and madrasas in large numbers to acquire the knowledge of Arabic and Persion. Hindi also found in

Sikandar Lodi a great patron (see chapter X on Education of Hindus under Muslim Rule). The Lodis, in fact, carried the revival of learning a step further, while the Hindus had the beginning of their renaissance in this period.

**The Mughals
1526-1857**

By the establishment of the Mughal Empire in India a golden chapter was unfolded in the history of education and development of literature and art. Almost all the rulers of the House of Timur were great patrons of education and their benevolent and tolerant policy created such a congenial atmosphere that art and literature thrived and flourished remarkably. Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Jaunpur, Gujrat, Sialkot and Ahmedabad became main centres of Muslim learning. The Mughal Durbars were the cradles of scholars, literatures and poets, who received regular encouragement from their sovereign patrons by way of lands and subsidies.

Timur, the first Mughal, who invaded India in 1398 was the author of the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, his autobiography, and builder of a college in Samarqand. Noer tells us that he also established academies and libraries and was an admirer of poets and scholars.

Babur, (1526-1530), the illustrious founder of the Mughal Empire, combined in his person the blood of the two great scourges of Asia, Timur and Chingiz, but he was more refined

and cultured than both of them. Erskine unhesitatingly remarks that "if we review with impartiality the history of Asia, we shall find few princes, who are entitled to rank higher than Babur in genius and accomplishments and in activity of mind."

Babur was "a literary genius". His scholarship in Arabic Persian and Turki ranked supreme. "In Persian he was an accomplished poet and in his native Turki he was master of a pure and unaffected style, alike in prose and verse". His greatest contribution to learning was his autobiography. The *Memoirs* (*Tuzk-i-Baburi*), written in the Turki language holds a unique position in the history of literature".

Babur used to hold frequent literary parties and a number of eminent scholars used to be his constant companions.

Humayun (1530-1556) loved to study astronomy and geography and wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements. For his own use, he caused to be constructed both terrestrial and celestial globes. Writes N.N. Law, the famed author of "The promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule". "He was a poet of some merit and was fond of the company of learned men and philosophers. He was a calligraphist as well.

Humayun had a large library and Lal Beg was his librarian. The monarch was so fond of books that even during expeditions he "carried a select library" with him. In 1540 when Humayun was expelled from India, he managed to take with him a few of his favourite volumes (Noer's Akbar, p. 136). During his exile in Persia, he made acquaintance with many scholars and artists and invited them to visit India, when he would succeed in re-establishing his kingdom there.

After Humayun had succeeded in recovering his lost dominion, he established a *Madrassa* at Delhi on the bank of the Jamuna in honour of Zainuddin Khafi with Maulana Ismail as Principal and turned Sher Mandal, the pleasure-house of Sher Shah (d. 1545) at Purana Qila, into a library.

Some of the eminent scholars and artists who flourished in Humayun's court were Khundamir, Jauhar, the author of the 'Tarikhul-Waqiat' Shaikh Husain, Khwaja Muhammad Munir, Shamsuddin of Kashan, and Mir Qasim Abdul Latif, the author of the Lubb-ul-Tawarikh, was invited by the Emperor, but he could not reach the royal court during Humayun's life-time. Shaikh Gadai of Delhi who flourished in Humayun's reign, used to deliver lectures on logic and on philosophy to foreign scholars. Stephen and Fanshawe tell us that the rooms attached to

Humayun's mausoleum were once occupied by a college.

With the accession of Akbar (1555-1605) a new leaf was turned in the "history of education, literature and fine arts." Akbar was a potentate, who may justly be regarded as one of the greatest and mightiest sovereigns known to history. Jahangir remarks that "glory of God manifested itself in him". He further adds: "Possessed of a fine literary taste, a profound intellectual curiosity and a marvellous memory, he took interest in the different branches of learning, such as philosophy, theology, history and politics".

"The fact is that he kept his studies throughout his life. Blockman says that Akbar used to read repeatedly the Gulistan, the Bostan, the Qabusnama, the Shahnama, the works of Khusrau, Jami, Khaqani, Anwari, Nizami, etc. (promotion of Learning in India (P. 145).

He was a lover of Masnavi-i-Rumi and Diwan-i-Hafiz. The view that the Emperor was illiterate is based entirely upon unauthenticated statements, based upon unreliable reports of the Goanese and other Christian missionaries. A modern researcher Mr S.M. Jaffar opines that "if literacy means ability to read and write, Akbar was literate and if the end of education is knowledge and intellectual

improvement, he was undoubtedly profoundly learned and most highly educated'.

In his noble zeal to promote learning, Akbar extended lavish patronage to erudite scholars, litterateurs and artists through stipends and rewards, and they wrote, translated, compiled and decorated with illustration, books on history, philosophy, literature, theology, medicines and other sciences.

Akbar also turned his attention to Sanskrit learning and under his direction many Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. He commanded Badayuni to translate Valmiki's Ramayana. The author was also instructed to translate Singhasena battisi, which he named Khired-Afza. Badayuni, Naqib Khan, Mulla Shir and Mulla Thaniswari Jointly made a condensed version of the great epic, Mahabharata, which is known as the Razmnama.

"Akbar introduced reforms in the educational system of the country and the innovations and improvements that were introduced were the outcome of the liberal heart of the Emperor". Mathematics ranked first among the sciences, included in the curriculum. Akbar issued a firman making mathematics a compulsory subject in the *Madrasas* (Badayuni's Muntakhk-ul-Tawarikh

Mr. Lowe, P. 475). Medicine was another important subject and both Ayurvedic and Unani systems were taught. A large number of *Maktabas* and *Madrassas*, both for residents and for day-scholars, were built and richly endowed, and arrangements were also made for the free education of the poor (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Topography of the Mughal Empire, P. 25). A big college was founded at Fathepur Sikri, "the like of which" the Ain-i-Akbari mentions, "few travellers can name". A capacious school was constructed at Agra and Akbar appointed a scholar from Shiraz as the principal of this institution. Besides this, there were a number of *Madrassas* at Agra which had Persian teachers. Referring to these institutions, Abul Fazal says: "All civilized nations have schools for the education of youths, but Hindustan is particularly famous for its seminaries". Hindus were taught along with Muslims in *Madrassas*, school and colleges and the curriculum gave them full scope to receive education according to their particular views of life.

Jahangir (1605-1627) a lover of nature and beauty, was a scholar as well as a poet. His *Memoris*, the *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*, is a brilliant proof of his literary attainments. He received his education from Qutbuddin Muhammad, Mirza Abdur Rahim, Shaikh Ahmed and Muhaddis Mir Kalan of Hirat. According

"to the Tarikh-i-Jan-i-Jahan the Emperor repaired even those *Madrassa* that had for thirty years been the dwelling places of birds and beasts and filled them with students and professors (Law's Promotion of Learning P. 12). He used to associate with learned men and Dervishes and loved to converse with them.

He was a great lover of books and purchased large number of manuscripts at exorbitantly high prices. According to Martin, Jahangir paid 3,000 gold *rupias* or about £ 10,000 for one manuscript only. His personal library consisted of such books as the *Rauzat-ul-Ahbad*, the *Tafsir-i-Hussaini* and the *Tafsir-i-Kashshaf*. He appointed Maktub Khan as the Librarian of the Imperial library.

Jahangir was a great admirer of the art of painting and a good number of master-painters adorned his court. Many learned men, poets and artists flourished under his patronage, such as Mirza Ghyas Beg, Niamatullah, Naqib Khan, Abdul Haq Delhvi, Naziri, Talib etc.

The reign of Shah Jahan (1627-1658), saw the climax of the Mughal Empire. The Emperor followed the educational policy of his grandfather. Bernier has painted a melancholy picture of the state of education during Shah Jahan's rule, but N.N.Law opines

that the traveler's account does not seem to express the real state of things" (Bernier's Travels, p. 210 Law's 'promotion of learning p. 181). We have it on the authority of Sir Jadunath Sarkar that a group of good readers were maintained to read to the Emperor "books on travel, lives of the saints and prophets and historians of former kings all rich in instruction. Among them the life of Timur and the Autobiography of Babar were his special favourites" Anecdotes of Aurangzed, p. 174).

Shah Jahan founded an Imperial College in Delhi in the vicinity of the Jama Masjid, and repaired the Dar-ul-Baqaa College of which Maulana-Sadrudin was appointed the Director. He also extended patronage to music, painting and calligraphy.

In Dara Shikoh (d.1659) the Mughal Royal family got an outstanding literary genius, He "showed leanings for the religion and institutions of the Hindus, was constantly seen in the company of Brahamans, Jogis and Sannayasis, and had great respect for Hindu learning".

A profound scholar of Sanskrit, he studied the doctrines of Vedanta and translated into Persian the Bhagavat Gita, the Athur Veda, the Yoga Vaistha and the Upanishad, the last one being under the title *Sirr-ul-Asrar*, besides

many other important works, such as the *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, the *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, the *Nadir-ul-Nukat* etc.

Aurangzeb (1658-1707), the last of the Great Mughals was well-versed in Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages, and his puritan ideas led him to bring the educational policy in line with the tenets of Islam. He got his early education from Saadullah Khan and Muhammad Hashmi. His studies were mainly confined to theological works and this had a marked influence on his ideas.

Even after ascending the throne, he regularly studied *Tafsir*, *Hadith* and *Fiqh* with the help of reputed 'Ulema. The *Ruqqat-i-'Alamgiri* shows his mastery of the Persian language. Bernier's account gives an impression that Aurangzeb was not satisfied with the education he received (Travels, p. 156).

Keene observes that Aurangzeb "founded numberless colleges and schools" while the *'Alamgirnama* records that he appointed professors in different parts of his empire and fixed stipends for meritorious students. The Emperor issued firmans to provincial Governors for the repair and reconstruction of *maktabs* and the appointment of teaching staffs. Aurangzeb confiscated from the Dutch the building called *Farhangi Mahal* in Lucknow, allotted it to an 'Ulama family and so the *Farhangi Mahal*

Madressa was founded" (P.N. Chopra's *Society and Culture in Mughal Age* p. 148).

The *Madressa-i-Rahimya*, named after the father of Shah Waliullah, was built during Aurangzeb's reign and produced scholars like Shah Abdul 'Aziz, Shah Ismail and 'Abdul Qadir. It is said that Aurangzeb used to copy the Holy Quran and maintained himself on the sale-proceeds of the same. Under him Sialkot became a prominent seat of learning and there lived two celebrated theologians of the period Manlana Abdul Hakim and his son 'Abdullah.

Aurangzeb constituted a Board of Seven eminent Jurists under the Chairmanship of Shaikh Nizam Lahori to compile an exhaustive code of Muslim Law and to put into a proper form the various juristic decisions. The board completed the famous *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, which has been regarded as "the greatest digest of Muslim Law made in India", after seven years of labour.

The patronage of learning and promotion of education by founding schools and colleges was also undertaken with much zeal and enthusiasm by the nobility and gentry, and a large number of educational institutions cropped up in almost all parts of the empire. The Mughal nobility constituted a sort of agency through which the ideals of art, morals

and manners were diffused among lower classes. (Radiance Weekly, New Delhi 1.8.6)

From what we have briefly described of educational and cultural activities in the sub-continent under muslim rule, it can be easily inferred that the Muslims had evolved an improved system of education and the rulers, whether of the central Kingdoms, Provincial states and Zamindars of big states had provided adequate facilities to every citizen of India for the acquisition of Knowledge. It will also be clear from the above description that education was completely free and there was no dearth of regular institutions for imparting education on the basis of perfect equality among taught and without observing any distinction between high and low, or among members of one community or another. Religious education was, of course, the chief aim of the Islamic system of education, but equal provision was made for the dissemination of secular learning and subjects dealing with arts, industry and business methods.

Another important feature of the Islamic system was that it was free from state control. Old educational units were independent in their internal management, but there was perfect uniformity in the system, organisation and policy of education throughout the sub-continent. The close and intimate relation between

teachers and their students was a great hallmark of this system in the Muslims period. This produced an imperishable and wholesome influence upon the students and was a great factor in moulding their manners and characters. The teachers and students were so bound in the silken-tie of love and affection that when a teacher had to transfer his educational activities to another area, the boys invariably followed him. Even in the 19th century we find that the great Moulana Bahrul Ulum refused to consider a highly lucrative offer, until he was allowed to bring all his students numbering one hundred with him and full arrangements for the accommodation and free board for the them had been made at the new centre.

The syllabus introduced in the sub-continent, was in conformity with the methods adopted in the beginning of Islam and carried by the Muslims in every part of Asia, Arabia and some regions of Europe, where it produced marvellous intellectual re-awakening and stimulated new learning, while helping preserve the remnants of old learning and civilisation. It can not, therefore, be denied that it was a revolutionary and progressive system which prepared generations after generations of educated peoples fully equipped for meeting new demands and facing new problems wherever the muslims planted there rule.

In India the organisation of educational activities by the muslims did not lack in dynamism and progressive tendencies. Upto the close of the eighteenth century, by which time their polirical supermacy had touched the lowest watermark, it continued to serve the best interests of the nation and people of all communities. It was suited to the genius of the people and developed fully there latent faculties and capabilities of mind. It continued to produce eminent men in the field of learning, administration in civil and military sphere and professional skill. It is, no doubt, true that we do not come across scholars, philosephers, and scientists in India of the type of those, who floursihed in Syria, Iraq, North Africa and other parts of Islamic world, whose achievements served as beacon light for seekers of knowledge in western countries. We also do not find in the sub-continent educational centres and places of learning, matching those which were established in other Islamic countries. Whatever may be the reasons for this failurs, it is, however, a fact that this cannot be ascribed to any shortcoming, or deficiency in the system of education followed in India in the days of Muslim supremacy.

Prof. M. Hamiuddin Khan

CHAPTER I

PROMOTION OF LEARNING

1. Importance of Education in Islam. 2. Promoting Knowledge and Religion among the nations of the World. 3. The Advent of Muslims in Pak-Indo Sub-Continent and progress of Education. 4. The Attitude of the Govt. towards Education. 5. Media for promoting Knowledge. 6. Voluntary Services for Education. 7. Libraries. 8. Educational Societies. 9. Fine Arts.

Islam has laid great stress upon education. The holy Quran as revealed to our Prophet (Peace be on him) begins with the word "Read". The foremost thing that was thus enjoined was "reading". In the same "Surah," "Al-Alaq," God (through Gabriel) says :—

Importance
of Educa-
tion in
Islam.

"Read: In the name of thy Lord who createth,
"Createth man from a clot,
"Read: And it is thy Lord, the Most Bountiful,
"Who teacheth by the pen,
"Teacheth man that which he knew not".

True and full understanding of Islam depends essentially on knowledge without which God's commands can never be understood in their true sense. In Surah "Ankaboot" is mentioned :—

"As for these similitudes we coin them for mankind but none will grasp their meaning but the wise"¹.

In the same Surah, it is said. "But it is clear revelation in the heart of those who have been given knowledge and none deny our revelation save wrongdoers"².

In Surah "Fatir," God has revealed: "The erudite among his bondmen fear Allah alone"³.

In order to keep up difference between the learned and the ignorant, it is said in Surah "Az-Zumar". "And those who know equal with those who know not?"⁴

In short, for a man to grasp the significance of Islam and to be God-fearing, knowledge is very essential; only the wrongdoers can deny God's revelations.

The holy Prophet (Peace be on him), too, did his best to instil into the heart of the people the value of knowledge,⁵ and search for knowledge was made binding on every Muslim man and woman. The Prophet (Peace be on him) said. "One hour's meditation on the works of the Creator (in a devout spirit) is better than seventy years of prayers". "To listen to the instruction of Science and Learning for an hour is more meritorious than attending the funerals of a thousand martyrs... more meritorious than standing up in prayers for a thousand nights." "To listen to the word of the learned and to cherish them into the heart is more commendable

1. 4/13

2. 5/5

3. 6/2

4. 1/15

5. Amir Ali, pp. 360—361 and Riyasat Ali Nadvi.

than emancipating a hundred slaves". Every aspect of acquiring knowledge is eulogised. "The ink of the scholar is holier than the blood of the martyr". He impressed upon his disciples the necessity of seeking knowledge even into China". They are encouraged to give up their hearths and homes and seek knowledge in far-off places. "He who leaves his home in search of knowledge, walks in the path of God". "He who travels in search of knowledge, to him God shows the way to Paradise". On the one hand, the greatness of knowledge was impressed on the people, while, on the other, the prestige and dignity of the scholars were enhanced. "Him who favours learning and learned God will favour in the next world". "He who honours the learned honours me". "He who shows reverence to a scholar reverses seventy prophets; while he who holds in esteem one student, pays tribute to seventy martyrs".

Having illumined Arabia with the light of Islam and having made the wild Arabs truly civilized, the Muslims turned their attention to other countries to help the people tread the path of humaneness. For the achievement of this aim they carried in one hand the sword and the flag, while in the other, they held the torch of knowledge and arts. By the sword they conquered countries, by preaching knowledge, they won people's hearts. They practised the principles of Islam and proved their superiority. The first thing they did after a conquest was to light the torch of knowledge and arts in that country. They sheathed their swords soon after a victory, and used their pen to promote knowledge and science. They changed the social and literary atmosphere of the country they set their foot on. In Hedjaz, Persia, Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco, Andulus, Turkistan, the Algiers and India they spread the light of civilization; the barbarians were converted into civilized people. Shiraz, Damascus, Baghdad, Neshapur, Cairo and Granada

Promoting
Knowledge
and Reli-
gion among
the nations
of the
World.

became the cradles of knowledge and literature. Thirst for knowledge became, as it were, a matter of faith with the Muslims. While Muslim rulers, patronized art and learning seekers after knowledge dedicated their lives to promoting knowledge. For them to stoop before any one except the erudite and the wise was to disgrace knowledge and learning. In spite of the fact that in the 3rd and the 4th centuries of Hijra, the political downfall of Muslims had begun and power of, and respect for, the Khalifas were gradually dwindling, the knowledge and arts were at their zenith. Neither the attacks of the Tartars nor the crusades of the Western powers could dim the torch of knowledge, which the followers of Islam had lighted.

The Advent of Muslims in Pak-Indo Sub-Continent and progress of Education.

It was long before the Pak-Indo Sub-Continent came in contact with this world-wide cultural movement. The attack on Thana and Broach, near Bombay, on the West coast of India, in the time of the Second Caliph, Hazrat 'Umar Faruq, by *Hakim bin Abulas*, as well as the light skirmishes thereafter, may well be ignored. The first attack which produced political consequences on the sub-Continent, came, in fact, in 93 A.H. (711 A.D.). It was made by Muhammed bin Qasim in the time of Caliph-Walid. He founded the first Muslim empire in a part of the Sub-Continent after conquering Sind and Multan. This empire lasted for three hundred years on its own strength. It was shattered when Mahmud of Ghazni attacked India.

In the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Mahmud of Ghazni undertook several military expeditions into India, which proved more effective than that of Muhammad bin Qasim. Mahmud of Ghazni, however, had no mind to establish his rule over the Sub-Continent. It was Muhammad Shahabuddin of Ghaur who entered the Sub-Continent with the aim of establishing Muslim

empire in the country. Having conquered Northern India he appointed his viceroy there. This viceroy, Qutbuddin Aibak, was the first independent Muslim ruler of Pak-Indo Sub-Continent. The Muslim empire, established by him, lasted for about seven centuries. But they came here not merely to subjugate and rule; they made it their home and did much for the welfare and cultural advancement of the native population. They were eager to establish a stable government as well as to bring peace and prosperity to the people. From Qutbuddin down to Bahadur Shah II, most of the kings and emperors contributed to the promotion of knowledge and arts. Even Provincial governors and rulers of independent states did not fail in their duty to achieve this end. Besides, the public, the nobles and the learned all did their best in this regard. Due to these efforts, education was as general and unrestricted in the Pak-Indo Sub-Continent as in other Muslim countries, while in Europe during this period education was the monopoly of a privileged class, the churchmen and the clergy.

The Government of the time helped the spread of independent education. It differed from the modern conception in that the imposition of restriction or supervision on education by the Government was not looked upon with favour. The main task of the Government was to give financial aid and administer to other needs of the teachers and the taught. The teachers were, however, quite free to manage their institutions, frame courses and syllabuses, and decide the aim, nature and method of their teaching. The officials of the Government did not interfere in these matters at all. These institutions taught a specially prescribed course, which was not too rigid. Changes were introduced at different times and in some places certain subjects were attached more importance than

Attitude of the Govt. towards Education.

others, but these changes were not effected in consequence of Government official's interference.

It does not, however, mean that the Government was indifferent to educational activities in the country. It was wrong what Dr. Keay has said in this respect. He writes: "There was no Education department nor were there Inspectors to inspect schools". He has stated this as an argument to prove that the Government of the period took no interest in matters relating to education and its progress. Surely, there was no separate department of education in those days; nor were there inspectors to supervise educational enterprises. It does not, however, follow that the Government took no interest in matters of education. Such a conclusion would be contrary to facts. The Sadrus-Sudur, a permanent official enjoying the rank of a minister under the Delhi Sultans and the Mughal emperors, had the following duties and functions to discharge:—

1. To put up lists of candidates for scholarships and stipends before the king.
2. To appoint Qazis and Muftis.
3. To censure persons erring in matters relating to education and morals and to watch the betterment of education and public morality.
4. To provide aid to the poor and the crippled out of the funds provided by the State.

In order to do justice to his first duty it was incumbent on the Sadrus-Sudur to keep himself aware of the condition of the 'Ulama and to provide those, who were in need, with the necessary aid either from private purse or from the State funds with the approval of the king. The Qazis and Muftis for various cities were chosen from among these 'Ulama, and staff in educational institutions, too, was recruited from among them. Their

salaries were regularly paid out of the royal treasury. In some cases, Jagirs (properties) were endowed for defraying expenditure on educational institutions. The teachers were paid salaries, and the students scholarships. In some institutions board and lodging were provided free. But mostly, the students resided at their homes while receiving their education in school. On finishing their education, suitable among them were appointed teachers in schools.¹

So far as financial aid was concerned, the teachers and the students both were supported by the State and some schools had endowments attached to them. Thousands of schools were established by the kings in this Sub-Continent. They were far flung in every nook and corner of the country. They were the main centres of education. Even today a number of dilapidated buildings testify to their existence in the past. The Madrassah Khair-ul-Manazil founded by Maham Ankah in Delhi and the Madrassah founded by Mahmud Gawan in Bidar are but a few instances out of a large number of them. Some of these old educational institutions are being used as centres of education even today. A case in point is the Madrassah of Ghaziuddin in Delhi outside Ajmeri Gate. Before the partition of the Sub-Continent in 1947, it was known as Arabic College, now it is called 'Delhi College'.

It is, however, wrong to limit the progress of education in those days to these institutions. Every king patronized the establishment of public schools in various parts of his kingdom. It was customary in those days for the ministers, nobles and officers to start educational institutions after their names, specially when a new Government took over the administration of the

Media for
promoting
Knowledge.

1. Ibn e Hasan, pp. 257.

centre or in any independent state. Such an action was considered necessary to keep up the dignity and prestige and every new Government proved itself more munificent and magnanimous by establishing institutions for popular education. But education was not limited to these centres alone. In order to fully understand the condition of educational progress it is necessary to familiarize ourselves with different kinds of media that were in vogue for spreading education in those times.

Voluntary
Services for
Education.

The celebrated scholars did not, however, always teach in mosques. Besides mosques they taught at the houses of the nobles and at their own residences. Even the humblest place was acceptable to them for this purpose. These places were open alike to the poor and the rich, the king and the beggar, the saint and the soldier. Every scholar considered it his duty to diffuse knowledge to other. Firoz Shah, the celebrated Bahmani king, held teaching classes on Saturdays, Mondays and Wednesdays—three days in a week, his political and administrative engagements notwithstanding. In the time of Balban, Shamsul Mulk, too, taught regularly for some time. Most of the 'Ulama in that city had been his pupils, even Shaikh Nizam-ud-din being one of them. The famous Vazier of Akbar, Mir Fatehullah Shirazi, not only taught the highest classes, but regularly gave lessons in spelling to small children of 5 or 6. Conditions for appointment to some of the offices laid it down, that the incumbents viz. Qazi, Sardar and Imam were to carry on teaching work as a duty, in addition to other duties, political and administrative.

Besides these officials, free education was imparted by a large band of voluntary workers in every town and city and in some of the villages. The voluntary workers did not teach for their livelihood. They were business-

men, agriculturists or employees. They did teaching work out of their free will, besides their various occupations. Even those who had renounced the world and had no concern with the worldly affairs took deep interest in matters educational. Many of 'Khanqahs' were used for housing, teaching institutions. One instance in point was the Khanqah of Hazrat Sultan-ul-Mashaikh, attached to which was a school wherein taught Maulana Fakhruddin.

Workers in educational field can be divided into two groups of teachers. One of them earned their livelihood through their own occupations, and devoted spare time to teaching work. The other class depended on teaching profession for earning their livelihood. They did not charge fees or accept salaries from the students; but were supported by monetary aid they received from some rich philanthropist of the place every month. But usually there were endowments, which provided enough monetary aid for the satisfaction of their needs. They therefore needed no other means of support to fall back upon.

In order to acquire proficiency in certain subjects it was essential to travel to far-off places. The inconvenience involved was, however, unbearable for an average man. To overcome the difficulty the Muslim kings paid out of public treasury, for their private needs, in the shape of monetary aid, to teachers who depended for their livelihood on teaching profession, and stipends were given to students. This monetary aid was known as "Madad-i-Ma'ash". Every teacher was free in the selection of his place of teaching. The Government enabled him, through monetary aid, to devote himself exclusively to seeking knowledge and imparting instruction.¹

1. Nadvi, p. 84.

The seekers of knowledge did not have to wander about in order to satisfy their learning for knowledge. The author of 'Ma'sir-i-Alamgiri' writes:—

"Salaries were fixed for teachers in every town and city; the 'Ulama were granted fiefs and stipends and sufficient funds were provided to meet the expenditure on the up-keep of the students".

Aurangzeb in a Firman ordered Diwan Mukramat Khan to appoint teachers in all parts of his empire: the students were to be taught syllabi from 'Mizan' to 'Kashaf' and they were to be paid stipends in consultation with the provincial governor, on a certificate bearing the seal of the teacher. In his time Sultan Firoz Tughlak also sent a large number of 'Alims; and teachers for spreading knowledge in different parts of his empire. The number of these workers was too numerous to be estimated correctly. Even chronicles of the times fail to help us in this matter, as therein are mentioned only those workers in educational field who, in one respect or the other, had a concern with the royal court. Moreover in those times, detailed information was not considered of much consequence; hence no biographical or statistical records were preserved. It can, however, be reiterated without fear of contradiction that voluntary workers were found in every town and city and in most of the villages. They had dedicated their whole life to the diffusion of knowledge among their countrymen.

Libraries

The libraries and reading rooms are commonly found these days. But in the past, the books were not available so easily for lack of printing facilities. Consequently the books were comparatively more costly and considered highly precious. It was a matter for pride for kings, nobles and crudite to possess a collection of books, and they preserved this collection meticulously.

Such valuable book collections were not the sole monopoly of the royalty; other members of the royal household, the nobles of the court and the learned men of the time also had their own collections. They took great pains to secure for their collections the best and the most valuable books. These books were freely lent and borrower was allowed to make out a copy of the manuscript for his own use; if he liked. Copies of the books in the royal library were made for distribution among the 'Ulama. The profession of making out copies had developed into a regular art and provided for the copyists a handsome means of livelihood. These copyists were known as "Warraq" and "Nassakh". They had adopted it as a profession to provide the copies of the manuscripts to those who needed them. The printing presses are too common now. We cannot fully appreciate the skill of the warraqs (copyists) of those days. It would be hard to believe today that Mir Tayyab had copied out "Sharah Mulla Jami" in a week. Sheikh Junaid Hisari made a manuscript copy of the whole text of the Quran within the short space of 3 days. Sheikh Mubarak copied out 500 books in his life time.¹

The Mughal emperors had made special arrangements for calligraphists who copied out the manuscripts. The nobles, too, had calligraphists in their service. There was a large number of copyists and calligraphists in their service. A large number of copyists and calligraphists had also adopted the art as a profession in their private capacity. The art of copy-making had developed so highly as to overcome the difficulties which would have been encountered otherwise. The non-availability of ancient manuscripts today can be ascribed

¹ I. Gilani, vol. 1, p. 54.

to the fact that during the period of decline of the Mughal empire after the death of Aurangzeb, a large number of manuscripts were destroyed or quite a number were taken away by Nadir Shah. The European orientalists, too, carried away a large number of them to enrich their own libraries. The year 1273 A.H. (1857 A.D.) was the most ominous year for our national culture, traditions and valuable art treasures. The books were no exception. Hundreds of thousands of manuscripts perished in the arson and loot that followed the British conquest of Delhi, Lucknow and Bareilly. A large number of books were destroyed. The libraries in Europe, nevertheless, have on their shelves hundreds of thousands of volumes of our ancient books. Some of the big libraries in this Sub-Continent, however, still preserve some of these manuscripts. The Khuda Bakhsh Library at Bankipur houses the largest and the most valuable collection and it is most regrettable that after the partition, this library, situated as it was in Bihar, has remained in alien hands.

The kings of Delhi were generally patrons of literature and arts and had a love for books. It is quite believable that these kings had with them a large number of books. Alauddin was almost illiterate. But he ascended the throne at a time, when the whole atmosphere of the empire was surcharged with literary activities. He had therefore a very large collection of books under the superintendence of Amir Khusrau, the celebrated poet.¹

The library of the Mughal emperors was the most famous library of the time. Each successive emperor had developed it in accordance with his taste and added to the collection. Lal Beg was its Superintendent

1. S.M. Jaafar, p, 44.

in the time of Emperor Humayun. When Humayun, after his defeat by Sher Shah Suri, was obliged to flee the country, he took with him his library and its Superintendent. On regaining his empire he established this library at Sher Mandal, and died, having slipped on the stairs of this library.

Akbar made considerable addition to his father's library. Faizi was incharge of its management. The royal library, in the time of Akbar, was bifurcated into two sections—one branch was kept within the palace while the other was outside the palace. The books in each section were arranged according to subjects. The library contained about 24,000 books. Their value, as estimated by Smith, comes to Rs. 65½ lacs of rupees. Jahangir and Shahjahan enriched this collection by adding considerable number of books to it. In the time of Jahangir Maktoob Khan held its charge. Jahangir gifted some of these books to the Shaikhs of Gujrat with inscription on the back by the emperor himself, giving the date of his arrival in Gujrat as well as the date of making over the gift. 'Alamgir added to it a large number of religious books. After the conquest of Bijapur, 'Alamgir transferred to the royal library all books considered valuable, rare and precious.

Besides the emperors, the Mughal princes and princesses had their own collections. The libraries, including collections made by Gulbadan Bano, Salima Sultana, Dara Shikoh and Zebun-Nisa, are among the reputed libraries of their time. Dara Shikoh, and Zebun Nisa's libraries contained thousands of volumes.

The 'Ulama and the nobles had their own libraries. Shaikh Nizamuddin had an excellent library of his own

when after his death, Uthman Sirajuddin, shifted to Lakhnauti, he took many of the books with him.¹

This love for knowledge continued unabated during the political decline of the empire. The only difference it did make, was that the centre of gravitation had now shifted from the person of the king to the independent provincial rulers, nobles and, 'Ulama. The God-gifted kingdom of Mysore, in the short span of its life, contributed so much to the promotion of learning and literature as could not be done by some other States in centuries. Sultan Tipu, the martyr, possessed a very valuable library. It was managed by a Superintendent. The library could not survive the fate of the kingdom. The efforts of the Nawabs of Oudh, of Rohilkhand and of Bengal need not be dilated upon.

The people in general, too, had imbibed a zeal for literature and learning and were contributing to the progress of knowledge and education in their own way. Individuals possessed a fair collection of books. The library of Mir Muhammad 'Ali of Murshidabad consisted of as many as 2,000 books.

The celebrated family of scholars of Delhi, who kept the torch of knowledge and religion burning during the wind-storm of paganism and tyranny, owned a very large library of their own. It was made up of an excellent, huge collection made by the great 'Mujtahid Shah Waliullah and Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz. The collection included thousands of books. An idea of its size can be gained by the fact that the books carried with them by Shah Ishaque and his brother Shah Yaqub, on their way to Arabia at the time of their Hijrat, weighed nine maunds. Another library, at this period, was that of

Maulana Sadruddin Khan, Mufti of the city. It was estimated to be worth 3,00,000 rupees. It is not an easy task to trace out all such private libraries for a correct estimate. The fact, however, is that the most excellent and rarest books could be had in these libraries, if and when needed.

In that period there were quite a number of educational societies in addition to the libraries. The societies and associations, like the schools and libraries, proved of great help in accelerating the pace of educational progress. Such societies were generally formed under the patronage of the members of the royalty who maintained at their court a galaxy of poets and scholars. These scholars held assemblages which were at times joined by the king himself. Following the custom of the royalty, the nobles, too, had formed similar associations. It is in the time of Balban that we for the first time come across associations, which were devoted entirely to educational purposes. They were established by Prince Muhammad Shaheed and Prince Bughra Khan, sons of Balban. The princes differed in taste; the associations founded by them, too, varied in their aim. The association formed by Prince Muhammad was literary in character, and presided over by the famous poet, Amir Khusrau. Its meetings were attended by scholars and 'Ulama of repute from places far and near, and the discussions were on literary topics. Prince Bughra Khan was a lover of fine arts. The association under his patronage had as its aim the development and practice of fine arts. The nobles followed the example set by the princes and established a number of such associations. These institutions had developed a fairly high standard.

Early in the reign of 'Alauddin, Delhi acquired a pre-eminence in literature and practical arts, never acquired

Educational
Societies.

1. Law, pp. 36-37.

before. The king himself, being illiterate, was not interested in such activities, yet a galaxy of scholars shone in the firmament of Delhi. It was mainly due to the fact that during the reign of Balban, which is regarded as the best period of Afghan rule, a large number of celebrated and selected scholars of Afghanistan had assembled at Delhi Court. The literary gatherings patronized by the princes provided the people with opportunities to benefit from the scholarly discourses.

Having solved political problems, Akbar devoted most of his attention to literary, scholastic and religious activities. A debating hall was set apart for learned discussions and named "Ibadat Khana," place of worship. Akbar used to listen to the discussions of the divines of different sects and religions. The emperor was very fond of making experiments; there he experimented on discovering the natural language; there he attempted to bring into fold of a new religion the people of the Sub-Continent so as to unite them into one nation. These experiments miscarried, but the scholastic activities of the association proved very useful to literature and science by producing original works and translations of great value. Many of the scholars who participated in the discussions held in "Ibadat Khana" combined their efforts in translating into Persian, Arabic and Hindi books such as, "Mummul Buldan," "Mahabharat," "Ramayana," and "Tarikh i Kashmir". This method of collaboration was not confined to translations alone. Even original books on history were produced by joint efforts. The best outcome of the method of collaboration in the Pak-Indo Sub-Continent is the compilation of "Fatawa Alamgiri" in the reign of 'Alamgir who appointed a committee of famous 'Ulama to compile these Fatawa. The Committee was headed by Mulla Nizam.

Fine arts had developed considerably under the Muslim rule. There was no fine art—be it music, poetry, painting engraving, stone-cutting, architecture, calligraphy—to which the Muslims did not devote their full attention, and carried it to the highest stage of excellence. The fine arts had no schools of their own. The accomplished artists taught these arts privately. Every good artist had some pupils about him and taught them with great zeal. As the fine arts were valued much, people were generally fond of learning them. One of the fine arts was calligraphy. Every scholar loved it. The kings were usually interested in these arts and some of the kings had acquired in the arts of their liking proficiency which compared favourably with that of their teacher-artist. The nobles, too, had a fondness for them. In the wake of kings and nobles, the fine arts had gained popularity among the public who were eager to acquire them. The Sub-Continent had the fine arts developed to a considerably high stage under the Muslim rule.

In the following pages we will show how the kings, the nobles and the 'Ulama individually did their best to propagate knowledge and literature. Their efforts resulted in the general spread of education. The Hindus and the Muslims, men and women, all were equal recipients. On the one hand the education of the boys was being properly looked after; on the other hand, education of girls had considerably progressed. The Hindus had begun learning Persian in Tughlaq's time—long before Sikandar Lodi. During the time of the Mughal Emperors the Hindus and the Muslims stood on the same level in respect of education. Since Akbar's time the Hindus and the Muslims sat together in public schools. The system of education gave equal opportunities to the rich and the poor, unlike the

present system under which thousands of intelligent but poor students have to give up studies half-way due to poverty; while education is thrust on unwilling and unpromising wards of wealthy families. In those days education was general irrespective of wealth or poverty. We now cite some statistics which may, at a glance, show the state of public education in those days. In the time of Muhammad Tughlaq there were 1,000 schools in Delhi alone. At Hanur in South India, as mentioned by Ibn e Batuta, there were 23 schools for boys and 13 for girls.¹

Sultan Ghayasuddin, ruler of the kingdom of Malwa, had in his household one thousand women who had learnt the Qur'an by heart. Nawab Murshid Quli Khan, Subedar of Bengal, had in his service 2,000 Qaris. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad says of Akbar's time "Not a city or town was there, but had Khanqahs and schools".²

Aurangzeb had made education compulsory for the Bohras in Gujrat. The words of General Sleeman (who occupies a distinguished place in Indian history as the exterminator of the thuggi) may be quoted in order to give an estimate of state of education in the days of the political decline of the Moghals :—

"But a few nations may have an educational system so universal as is found among Indian Muslims. A Muslim with a monthly salary of Rs. 10/- per month educates his son with the same care as a prime minister his own. These boys learn in Persian and Arabic the same subjects which our sons learn in Latin and Greek. At the end of seven year's education, he is conferred

1. P. 230

2. Tazkira, p. 242.

the 'pugree', known as 'Dastar i Fazilat,' signifying conferment of doctorate, as he has his mind stuffed with knowlence like an Oxford scholar. He can lecture on Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, Galen, Hippocrates and Avicenna like an accomplished scholar of Oxford".¹

The General at another place writes :—

"An educated Muslim is qualified to speak on philosophy, literature and other branches of knowledge. He is eager to discuss these subjects and to know the changes that have been brought about in recent times".²

In the days of political decline, Max Muller puts the number of schools in Bengal at 80,000 while Adam's report puts the figure at 100,000. These figures may give us an estimate of educational progress under the Muslim rule. It can be claimed on the basis of these facts that India did not lag behind any other advanced country of the times.

1. General Sleeman.

2. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER II

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION UNDER THE SULTANS OF DELHI

1. Mahmud of Ghazni. 2. Mohammad Ghorî.
3. Qutbuddin Aibak. 4. Iltutmish. 5. Sultana Razia.
6. Nasiruddin. 7. Balban. 8. Jalaluddin Khilji.
9. Alauddin Khilji. 10. Mashaikh. 11. The Tughlaqs.
12. Mohammad Tughlaq. 13. Firoz Tughlaq.
14. The Sayyids. 15. The Lodis. 16. Sikandar Lodi.
17. Salim Shah. 18. 'Adil Shah.

Mahmud of
Ghazni.

Mahmud of Ghazni, besides being a great conqueror, capable commander, and man of soldierly deportment, was also a great lover of knowledge, arts, learning and literature. A great scholar himself, he patronized men of letters. Hearing of his patronage of arts and literature, scholars and men of learning were attracted to Ghazni from far-off places, and were offered positions according to their accomplishments, in his court. Among 400 poets at his court, the most celebrated were Hakim Ansari, Asair, Razi, Ustad Rashidi, Tusi, Manuchehri of Balkh, Asjadi, Farrukhi and Daqiqi. Ansari occupied the high position of his Poet-Laureate. It was on his initiative that Firdausi composed a part of his world-fame epic, *Shahnama*. Alberuni, the celebrated historian and 'Allama Hamdani lived at his court. Forty thousand dinars were spent

annually on their maintenance.¹ This amount does not include the cash rewards and gifts, the bestowal of which earned for him the title of the Giver of gold and jewels equal to an elephant's weight.

He established a university on his return to Ghazni after his conquest of Kanauj. The library of this university was enriched with rarest books on all branches of learning and arts from every nook and corner of his kingdom. When the city fell, the best books of its libraries were transferred to the library at Ghazni.² Jagirs and endowments were set apart for expenditure on the maintenance of the university, scholarships and salaries. Hakim Ansari, the Poet-Laureate, was the chief administrator of the University. In addition to the University and the library, he set up a museum in which were displayed curious brought from far and near.

Sultan Mahmud might not have given as much attention to the promotion of learning and literature in the Pak-Indo Sub-Continent as in Ghazni, but it is impossible to believe that under such a patron of learning and art, there were provided no facilities for education in Northern India.³

If no mention of his efforts is made in chronicles, it does not follow that Mahmud made little or no efforts to promote learning and arts in Hindustan. It is, on the other hand, clear that his love for knowledge, his literary achievements, the mosques, schools and libraries built in his time must have had a great influence on the Muslim rulers who succeeded him. He was the

1. Nazim, p. 158.

2. Sufi, p. 12.

3. Nadvi, p. 19.

first great conqueror to leave an abiding effect on this Sub-Continent. The Muslim kings and rulers who succeeded him must have unavoidably followed his example. It was traditional practice with the Muslim kings and rulers to construct a school building within, or attached to, a mosque. The school provided both religious and secular education. This tradition was the first set by Mahmud of Ghazni and has since been commonly adopted.

Mahmud of Ghazni was succeeded by his son Mas'ud. He, too, like his father was a patron of learning and the learned. Most of the 'Ulama have dedicated books to him and given them titles after his name. Hakim Abu-Raihan, named after him, his well-known work on Mathematics "Qanun-i-Mas'udi" and was rewarded. Qazi Abu Mohammed Nasahi wrote a book on the Islamic Laws as understood by Hanafi Sect, and gave it the title "Fiqah-i-Masudi" after Masud. It was in the time of Mas'ud that Persian language took great strides towards progress, and ultimately became the lingua franca of the whole east. Though in the reign of Mas'ud upheavals and turmoils had set in, yet there was no set-back to the progress of learning and literature. He, on the other hand, made special efforts to promote and propagate them. He established and built a large number of schools, so that the light of knowledge could reach every individual.¹

Unlike Mas'ud his successors were neither capable nor brave. The growing power of the Seljuks and the Ghoris drove them out of Ghazni and they had to make Lahore their seat of government. Consequently, Lahore became for some time cradle of learning and arts. The

1. Law, p. 12.

first Persian poet of the Pak-Indo Sub-Continent. Mas'ud Sa'ad Salman, was court poet of king Ibrahim of the Ghaznavi dynasty. After Ibrahim's death, his grandson Bahram, patronized the poets. 'Makbzan-i-Asrar,' a Masnavi by Nizami, is dedicated to him. Abul-Fazl and Abu Nasr are the celebrated historians of their time. Historical records left by them are the main source of our information about that period.

During this period of Mahmud's invasions there came to this Sub-Continent certain sages with the aim of promoting learning and preaching Islam. The foremost of them was Sheikh Ismail Lahori. Though certain Converted Muslim ascetics, e.g. Baba Ratna, Baba Khaki and Bibi Pak Daman, are mentioned in the chronicles of the time preceding Sheikh Ismail Lahori, Sheikh Ismail Lahori was the first person who preached Islam and propagated learning on a systematized basis. He came to Lahore in 395 A. H. (1005 A. D.) and started teaching. He was fully equipped with knowledge... mundane and spiritual. Another personage of repute of this period was Sheikh Ali bin Usman Hijveri, popularly known as Dataganj-Bakhsh. He came to Lahore with two of his companions in the time of Sultan Masud and took up teaching. Some time later, he devoted himself to writing and compilation of books. His most celebrated book is "Kashaf-ul-Mehjub". He died in Lahore in 465 A. H. (1072 A. D.).

Shahabuddin Ghoris conquered Multan in 570 A. H. (1175 A.D.). Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti had reached Ajmer before Mohammad Ghoris's attack. The Khawaja was busy preaching Islam when Mohammad Ghoris reached Ajmer, having subdued the country with the sword, and won the heart of the populace with affection and kindness. He conquered Ajmer and made it the cradle of knowledge and culture. Hasan Nizami

Muhammad
Ghoris.

Neshapuri, author of "Ta'ajul Ma'asir", states that in Ajmer, which was a big centre of Hindu religion, Mohammad Ghori established a number of schools for promotion of Islamic learning.¹ The date of their construction cannot be ascertained. But probably no Islamic educational institution was established prior to them. It would not be wrong, therefore, to conclude that they were the earliest Muslim schools in India.²

Sultan Mohammad Ghori was very fond of his promising and intelligent slaves and was much interested in their education. He had a large number of his slaves educated to a high standard of proficiency. Their education was not confined to acquisition of knowledge but included higher military training and the principles of government and administration.³

This category of slaves included conquerors of great capability and rulers of great administrative foresight, as Qutbuddin Aibak, Nasiruddin Qabacha and Bakhtiar Khilji. They laid the foundation of Islamic rule too firmly to be shaken for centuries.

Qutbuddin
Aibak.

On the death of Mohammad Ghori, Qutbuddin Aibak ascended the throne in 602 A.H. (1206 A.D.) He was the founder of the dynasty of slave kings and the first independent Muslim ruler of this Sub-Continent. A merchant brought him from Turkistan and sold to Qazi Fakhruddin Ibn Abdul Aziz Kufi at Neshapur. He was educated with the children of the Qazi. He became a Hafiz (of the Quran) and mastered Persian and Arabic languages. Qazi Fakhruddin sold him to

1. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 15; Law, p. 81.

2. Nadvi, p. 21.

3. Law, p. 18; Farishta, Vol. I, p. 200.

Muhammad Ghori. He acquired skill in riding and archery. He was appointed viceroy of Pak-Indo Sub-continent after the battle of Tarain in which he showed qualities of an intrepid soldier and a born leader. On the death of Muhammad Ghori he became the first independent Muslim king of the Sub-Continent and founded the Slave Dynasty of Delhi Kings.

Aibak, himself a man of sound scholarship, was eager to promote knowledge and literature. He treated the learned with extreme respect and regard and having done with his royal duties he passed most of his spare time in the company of 'Ulema. His munificence earned for him titles of Lakh Bakhshi, (bestower of lacs). He had a large number of mosques constructed throughout his kingdom. Arrangements for religious as well as secular education were made as was usual in those days.¹

Qutbuddin was succeeded by Shamsuddin Iltutmish. Iltutmish. He was the second famous king of the Slave Dynasty, who was, in his boyhood sold to Qutbuddin at Delhi. Mohammed Ghori, on seeing him, had said, "Treat Iltutmish well, he will rise to the heights of glory some day". Gradually Iltutmish, rose in rank. He began as 'Amir-i-Shikar' (Lord of the Hunt) and later rose to be the governor of Gwalior, and, later still, became the chief ruler of Badaun.

On the death of his master, Aibak, he became the king of Hindustan. About him "Minhaj-us-Siraj" says :

"The court of Iltutmish was thronged by men of great learning, scholarship and skill. It sheltered the fugitives afraid of Mughal attacks. Among such refugees

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Aibak, himself a man of sound scholarship, was eager to promote knowledge and literature. He treated the learned with extreme respect and regard and having done with his royal duties he passed most of his spare time in the company of 'Ulema. His munificence earned for him titles of Lakh Bakhshi, (bestower of lacs). He had a large number of mosques constructed throughout his kingdom. Arrangements for religious as well as secular education were made as was usual in those days.¹

Qutbuddin was succeeded by Shamsuddin Iltutmish. Iltutmish. He was the second famous king of the Slave Dynasty, who was, in his boyhood sold to Qutbuddin at Delhi. Mohammed Ghorī, on seeing him, had said, "Treat Iltutmish well, he will rise to the heights of glory some day". Gradually Iltutmish, rose in rank. He began as 'Amir-i-Shikar' (Lord of the Hunt) and later rose to be the governor of Gwalior, and, later still, became the chief ruler of Badaun.

On the death of his master, Aibak, he became the king of Hindustan. About him "Minhaj-us-Siraj" says :

"The court of Iltutmish was thronged by men of great learning, scholarship and skill. It sheltered the fugitives afraid of Mughal attacks. Among such refugees

1. S. M. Jaffar, p. 40.

was Fakhrul Mulk, the well-known Wazir of Baghdad who arrived in the Sub-Continent in his misfortune and sought refuge at the court of Iltutmish. The celebrated poets, Ruhani and the Dabir-i-Khas Malik Tajuddin were also at his court. It was during his rule, that Nooruddin Mohammad Auji wrote his famous book, "Jama-ul-Hikayat" and dedicated it to Nizam-ul-Mulk Mohammad bin Abi Saad Junedi, the prime minister. Many other 'Alims and Poets were at his court and the king profited by their company.

'Like many other ancient kings Iltutmish was a lover of architecture. The Qutub Minar of Delhi stands as a living testimony to this day. In addition to this, he had many schools built in the capital. The famous school, M'azzi, at Delhi is a monument of this king's love for knowledge'.¹

In "Fatuh-i-Firozshahi" it is mentioned that the school built by Shamsuddin Iltutmish was in ruins; I (Firoz Tughlak) had it re-built and provided it with doors of Sandal wood. It is probable that the school was named by Iltutmish after his master, whose birth name was Moizuddin Ghouri. The Juma Masjid of Badaun and the school, Moazzi, attached to it are also monuments of his time.²

Iltutmish not only built schools for promotion of learning and showed respect for the scholars, but felt much concern for his children's education. The scholastic attainments of Razia will be described a little later. He had made arrangements suited to his rank for the education of prince Mahmud at Loni near Delhi.³

1. Law, p. 21; Jafar, p. 40.

2. Sufi, p. 14.

3. Law, p. 31.

Iltutmish was succeeded, by his son Ruknuddin and later by Sultan Razia who was endowed with all the admirable attributes that are requisite of just and wise kings. She was well educated and well versed with the Quran. Occasionally, she composed poems. Shirin was her pen-name. Her education stood her in good stead in the discharge of her royal duties competently.¹ She was a scholar, and patronized learning. Almoazzi, the school founded by Iltutmish, highly developed in her time. When 'Qaramatas' invaded Delhi in 635 A. H. (1238 A. D.), they attacked this school thinking it to be Jama Masjid, and killed many of its inmates.²

Sultana
Razia.

Razia was succeeded by her younger brother, Nasiruddin. Nasiruddin who proved to be her true successor, as a lover of learning and literature. He was very pious and abstinent. He did not spend on his own needs a single shell out of the public exchequer. He earned his living by copying verses of the Quran and Arabic and Persian books which were sold. He was a good calligraphist. He had spent all his time in literary pursuits when under house arrest. Consequently he became a great scholar and reputed calligraphist of his time. Even after his accession to the throne he maintained his habit of study all his life, and lived on his pen. He was a great patron of learning and learned. In his time there was at Delhi a school, known as the Nasiria.³

It was probably built by him. Minhaj-us-Siraj, the author of "Tabaqat-i-Nasiri" was the manager and Superintendent of the school. There was a college at

1. Law, p. 31.

2. Urdu Translation of "Tarikh Farishta" Vol. I, p. 217.

3. Translation of "Tabaqat-i-Nasiri", p. 667, Elliot, Vol. II, p. 344.

Jalindhar as well.¹ Minhaj-us-Siraj, the celebrated historian of his time, completed his history. "Tabaqat-i-Nasiri" in 655 A. H. (1256 A. D.), and presented it to the king. It was entitled "Tabaqat-i-Nasiri" after him. The king highly appreciated the book and conferred on the author a costly robe of honour, besides a large reward in cash.

Balban.

Balban's court became a place of refuge for the kings and princes of Asia who, defeated by the Mongols, fled their country. The attack of Chingiz Khan on Khurasan forced 15 of the princes to flee their country to seek refuge at Delhi court. Balban welcomed them cheerfully with honours befitting their ranks. In the retinue of the rulers and princes were scholars of world-wide fame. Balban's court, thus, became the stronghold of political power as well as a centre of learning and literature. It is why Farishta calls his reign as "Best Age" and Amir Khusro declares that the Delhi of his time competed with Bukhara.

The eldest son of Balban, Sultan Mohammad, Shahid, was an accomplished scholar.² At his court were assembled reputed scholars and doctors of religion and law. The historian Barni writes :—

"The court of the prince was thronged by the scholars and doctors of religion and law. His companions read to him, Shah Nama, Diwan-i-Sanai, Diwan-i-Khaqani and Khamsas of Sheikh Nizami and discussed their lingual beauty before him. Amir Hasan and Amir Khusro were his chief companions who had lived with him for 5 years at Multan, and were enriched with rewards, gifts and fiefs. The prince showed extreme

1. Translation of "Tabaqat-i-Nasiri".

2. Jaffar, p. 43.

respect to them and showered on them his munificence more than on others".

It was in the time of Balban that an interminable chain of literary gatherings began. They were initiated by prince Mohammad and Prince Bughra Khan. The nobles and the middle class people, struck by the prince's zeal, established a number of literary associations. Within a short period, their number rose considerably. These associations became centres of learning, literature and fine arts. Through this medium knowledge infiltrated to the common people and attracted travellers and scholars from distant lands, making Delhi the envy of Granda.¹ The patronage of art and literature rooted too deeply as it was, was not shaken with the departure to Lakhnauti, of prince Mohammad and Prince Buaghra Khan. Multan and Lakhnauti became additional centres of literary gatherings and greatly helped promotion of learning and literature.

Prince Mohammad had a passion for adorning his court with men of skill and talents. Twice did he invite Sheikh Sa'adi to the Pak-Indo Sub-Continent. The Sheikh, while pleading his old age as an excuse, sent to him his autographed verses on both the occasions and congratulated the prince on having at his court Amir Khusro, the talented poet, whom he greatly admired. The prince was a great scholar himself.² Emperor Balban, was a great patron of learning and fond of scholars. He was so enamoured of their company that he would not take food but with them.

There were in his time hundreds of men of skill and accomplishments. Most famous among them

1. Farishta, p. 252; Yosuf, pp. 87-88; Law, p. 24.

2. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 565.

were Sheikh Shakarganj, Sheikh Bahauddin, Sheikh Badruddin Arif Ghaznavi, Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki and Saeed Mulla. Imam Raziuddin Hasan bin Mohammad Saghani died a few years before Balban's accession to the throne. We do not, therefore, reckon him among the 'Ulemas of Balban's reign. Saeed Mulla established a college and a poor house. In the college he appointed the most competent teachers: while in the poor house he provided comforts for the mendicants, the indigent, and the travellers.¹ A small group of the nobles had much faith in him. This led Jalaluddin Khilji to have him murdered, which stains his otherwise good reputation. Khan-i-Khanan, the son of Jalaluddin also had a great faith in him and used to call himself his (Saeed Mulla's) son.²

Jalaluddin
Khilji.

The development of learning and literature received a temporary set-back in the time of Kai Kobad's reign. With the accession to the throne of Jalaluddin Khilji, however, the situation changed again. In his time the plant took root, spread and blossomed in the time of Alauddin Khilji and the fruits it bore have a permanent and prominent place in the history of learning and literature. Jalaluddin Khilji was not only a patron of learning but a scholar and poet, to boot. As his fame crossed the bounds of the Sub-Continent, a large number of Ulama from other countries assembled at his court. They included men skilled in all branches of knowledge. There were logicians, historians, mathematicians, poets, philosophers. no branches of knowledge remained unrepresented. Amir Khusro occupied the highest place among them. He was permitted to wear the white robe,

1. Farishta, Vol. I, p. 271; Law, p. 28-32.

2. Law, p. 32.

specially reserved for the princes.¹ He was the Superintendent of the royal library which developed considerably under his supervision.

The king had a fondness for fine arts. His gatherings were graced with the presence of lyric poets like Amir Khan and Hamid Raja, beautiful and attractive wine-cup-bearers like the sons of Haibat Khan and Nizam Kharita and the matchless musicians like Mohammad Saleh Jangi and Nasir Jan.²

Jalaluddin was succeeded by his nephew, Alauddin. He was illiterate before his accession, but, later, he began his education and within a short time he learnt Persian well-enough. Barni says of him that he was quite illiterate and avoided the company of the learned men. It may be true of earlier years of his kingship, but, since his own education, his attitude to knowledge and the learned had considerably changed. As his grasp of literary discussions and inquiries improved, he became more and more interested in them. Literary gatherings were held; he participated in them and took great interest.³ Like any other Muslim king, he showered rewards and gifts on scholars, but not so lavishly as Balban and the Tughlaq kings.

Alauddin
Khilji.

Farishta says of the Delhi of that period:-

"The palaces, mosques, schools, baths, tombs, forts, and private and public buildings were rapidly rising, as if by magic. Never before had there assembled at one place such a large number of scholars. Forty five

1. Farishta, Vol. I, p. 292.

2. Zakaullah, Vol. II, p. 14.

3. Jaffar, p. 45.

scholars, unsurpassed in ability were teaching in various schools.¹

In Delhi had assembled scholars, accomplished in every branch of knowledge and skilled in every art.....philosophers, poets, sufis, 'Ulama, lawyers, historians, physicians, scientists, musicians and singers, linguists and grammarians. Some of them were attached to the Alauddin's court. Besides salaries, they received rich rewards. There were others, however, who had no concern with the court. They kept the torch of knowledge and teaching burning in their private capacity. Most famous of them was Sultan-ul-Mashaikh Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia. His disciples propagated education, both secular and religious in every nook and corner of the Sub-Continent. Among them were Sheikh Nasiruddin Chiragh, Amir Khusro and Sheikh Abdul Haq who mostly stayed with him; while others, who devoted, their lives, ambitions and enjoyment to preaching of Islam and promotion of learning among the common people were Sheikh Wajihuddin Yusuf at Chanderi, Sheikh Yaqub in Malwa, Maulana Ghayas in Dhar, Maulana Mughis at Ujjain, Sheikh Hasan in Gujrat and Sheikh Burhan Gharib, Sheikh Muntakhib and Khawaja Hasan in the Deccan.

Besides the 'Ulama, other people also rendered every possible service to the students who flocked to Delhi in search of knowledge. A number of families were well known for this kind of service. Syed Chhajju, Syed Ujali, Moinuddin, Jalal Ali Jamal and Tajuddin were among them. Counting on their support devotees to knowledge were attracted to Delhi from

1. Farishta, Vol. I, p. 376.

all directions. Delhi, the political centre of Sub-Continent thus became a centre of learning and literature as well. Students and 'Ulama from foreign countries migrated to Delhi for acquisition of knowledge; benefited by its educational facilities and added to its fame and glory.¹

During the reign of the slave and the Khilji dynasties Islam was preached, and flourished, in this Sub-Continent. Mohammed Ghori's attacks were intended not only to make conquest but to establish his rule over the Sub-Continent. While most of the Slave kings as well as Alauddin were busy establishing and extending their conquests, a group of 'Ulama and Mashaikh was engaged in preaching the true religion of Islam and propagating learning and literature. We have already mentioned Sheikh Ismail and Sheikh Ali bin Usman. But the revered personality of Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti made to this effort its highest contribution. He was born in Sistun in 537 A.H. (1142 A.D.). Instructed by his religious leader, Khawaja Usman Harooni, he arrived in the Pak-Indo Sub-Continent. On the way he visited most of the Muslim countries and benefited by the company of great sages. After a visit to Lahore and Delhi he settled at Ajmer and devoted himself to propagating and preaching of Islam until his death in 633 A.H. (1236 A.D.).

What the Khawaja did at Ajmer was done at Delhi by his disciple and Khalifa (Caliph) Khawaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki. Shahinshah Iltutmish had great faith in him. He offered the Khawaja the office of Sheikh ul-Islam, but he declined to accept it. He kept busy in preaching religion and learning, in his private capacity. Khawaja

1. Farishta, Vol. I, p. 377; Law, pp. 36-37; Jaffar, pp. 104-114.

Chishti would have him at Ajmer but the citizens of Delhi would not part with him. Hence he lived at Delhi till his death.

A Khalifa of his, Baba Fariduddin Ganjshakar made Pak-Pattan the centre of his spiritual and humanitarian activities. Balban had so great a faith in him, that he gave him his daughter in marriage. But he had almost renounced the world and, away from the court kept himself engaged in striving for his goal. On the death of Baba Farid Ganj Shakar, his Khalifa Makhdum Alauddin Sabir settled at Kalar. But another of his his Khalifas Sultan-ul-Mashaikh Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia again made Delhi the centre of his activities, which were spread over the reigns of the Slave the Khiljis and considerable part of the Tughlaks. No other spiritual leader could probably attain to the dignity and respect he commanded during his life. Among his disciples were ministers, nobles as well as common people. He took no interest in political affairs from which he always kept aloof. His efforts in regard to the preaching of religion and learning met with great success. He deputed his Kahlifas to far flung parts of the country for preaching the True Faith. One of the Khalifas, Shaikh Nassiruddin Chiragh of Delhi put in his utmost efforts to extend knowledge and literature along with the beauties and virtues of Islam.

Besides the above sages belonging to the Chishtia Order, there were many others engaged in preaching unity of God, equality and fraternity among common, down-trodden people suffering social inequality. Among those devoted to this work were Maulana Hasan Sana'ni at Lahore, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakaria, Sheikh Sadruddin 'Arif and Sheikh Ruknuddin in Multan, Syed Jalaluddin Munir Shah in Gujrat, Hazrat Bu Ali Shah Qalandar in the East Punjab, Sheikh Jalaluddin Tabrezi in Bengal,

Mahabir Kanduit, Hazrat Gesu Daraz and Sheikh Baba in the Deccan and Syed Ali Hamdani in Kashmir. It is due to their preaching and spiritual influence that Pak-Indo Sub-Continent has got such a large Muslim population.¹

The accession to the throne of Ghayasuddin Tughlaq, the first of the Tughlaq kings, was heralded by a burst of sun-shine of learning and literature at his court. He treated the scholars and the erudite with great honour and respect and was ever ready to support them. Amir Khusro was still at the court and enjoyed an equal position with other courtiers. He was in receipt of a monthly allowance of 1,000 Tankas.² The king himself was a great scholar. He had compiled a legal code conforming to the injunctions of the Quran and the needs of the times, for settling political, military and financial affairs³. This code was sanctimoniously followed in all cases of individual quarrels and political disputes. Some historians have asserted that the Barber's Fort (Nai ka Qila), a mile away from Tughlakabad, was in fact a college, founded by Ghayasuddin Tughlak.⁴

The Tughlaks

Ghayasuddin was succeeded by Muhammad Tughlaq. He was a literateur and poet. His compositions were unrivalled for novelty of style, liveliness of expression and originality. He had memorized thousands of couplets. In his Persian and Arabic letters he has used the finest simlies and quoted the couplets with telling effects. He had great skill in mental sciences as philosophy, logic, astronomy, mathematics and in other branches of knowledge such as history, Islamic traditions,

1. Ikram.

2. Jaffar, p. 47.

3. Farishta, Vol. II, p. 402.

4. Farishta as quoted by Jaffar, p. 48.

and medicine. He enjoyed a wide reputation as patron of letters and his liberality was well-known. The tales of his magnanimity attracted from distant lands great scholars and men of learning,¹ who were enriched by rewards and gifts. The celebrated traveller, Ibn-e-Batuta, having heard of his munificence, decided to visit the Sub-Continent and to try his fortune here.² He came and amassed rewards and gifts beyond his expectations. The tales related of Muhammed Tughlaq's liberality are too numerous to be detailed and too well-known to be believed.³ His liberality had crossed the bounds of his court or country. Scholars in foreign countries also benefited from it. He sent ten thousand dinars to Qazi Majiduddin Wali Shirazi and 40,000 dinars to Burhanuddin Saghai.

The most celebrated poet of his time was Badr Chach. He ranks very high among the Persian poets. He composed a book, "Shahnama," which comprised 30,000 couplets. It throws light on the main achievements of the Sultan. The book is now rare. Among the contemporaries of Badr Chach may be mentioned men of talents like Qazi Al-Muqtadir Sheikh Ahmad Thanesari, Moinuddin Imrani and Maulana Khwasgi.

Muhammad Tughlaq was a great builder. He laid foundations of Khurramabad near Delhi. Simultaneously with the fort were built a mosque and a Madressah. Badr Chach composed couplets (Qita) giving date of their foundation. Of the school and the mosque he says:—

"Idris, the teacher, is the head of his school, and

1. Jaffar, p. 48.

2. Ibn-e-Batuta, p. 4.

3. For a few of refer to Mohd. Ibn Tughlaq by Medhi. pp. 169—171.

the Imam of his mosque is a sweet toned nightingale."

Mr. Law, the Bengali historian writes about Daulatabad. "It is hard to believe that the king, a great scholar himself, would build the capital without a school for promotion of learning."¹

On Muhammad Tughlaq's death, his cousin, Firoz Tughlaq ascended the throne. He was brought up under the personal tutelage of Ghayasuddin Tughlaq, and, later, of Mohammed Tughlaq.² Muhammed Tughlaq regarded him with affection due to a real brother and consulted him in all his affairs. He made him Commander of 12,000 cavalry and conferred on him the title of Barbak. Having no son to succeed him Muhammed Tughlaq, during his life, nominated Firoz Tughlaq as his successor. Firoz accepted the nomination but with great reluctance.

Feroz
Tughlaq.

Firoz Tughlaq was liberal in thought and deeds, wishing well of his subjects and eager to promote learning and culture among them. He had a special taste for history. Zia Barani and Siraj Afif, the talented historians of the times, were at his court. But, as he considered their chronicles unauthentic from a historical point of view, he himself wrote the history of his reign, entitled "Fatuh-i-Firozshahi".

Firoz Tughlaq, on the one hand, paid attention to the repairs of ancient buildings and prevented their decay; on the other, he evinced a keen aptitude for construction of new buildings and planting gardens. He had two of the Ashoka's pillars removed to Delhi—one from Meerut and the other from Khizrabad district. The

1. For details, p. 47.

2. P. 162.

very construction of these pillars and the manner of their safe removal over long distances as well as the method of their planting at the appointed place in Delhi throws much light on the means of communication of those times.¹ Besides, he had many of the old buildings restored to their former glory. Among the instances in point may be mentioned the mosque in Delhi built by Ghorî which was in a dilapidated condition and the Madrassah Moazzi built by Iltutmish. As already mentioned, beside repairs, he provided it with doors of sandal wood.

We shall take special notice of the schools, built by him. According to Farishta, he established 30 schools at different places in the Pak-Indo Sub-Continent,² while Abdul Baqi puts the figure at 50.³ Besides, he constructed 50 canals, 40 mosques, 20 Khanqahs, 100 palaces, 50 hospitals, 100 tombs, 10 baths, 100 bridges and hundreds of wells. He established several schools in the neighbourhood of Delhi. His son Prince Fateh Khan died in Safar 776 A.H. (1374 A.D.). Along with the construction of his tomb, he established a school near Qadam Sharif as a charitable institution for invoking God's blessings on soul.⁴ Another school he founded at Hauz Khas of Alauddin Khilji in 755 A.H. (1354 A.D.) and invited great scholars from distant places to teach. The head of the institution Syed Yusuf Jamal Husaini died in 795 A.H. (1393 A.D.) and was buried in the school court-yard.⁵ But the most famous school of Delhi and the best of the times was Madressah Firoz Shahi. It was founded by Firoz Shah at Delhi in 753 A.H. (1352 A.D.). Barani writes:—

1. See Zakanllahiu Vol. II.

2. Farishta, Vol. I, p. 464.

3. Referred to by Jafar, p. 51.

4. Sir Syed, p. 37.

5. Bashir, Vol. III.

"In respect of the glory and grandeur, beautiful building and good situation as well as efficiency of administration and education, this school stands unrivalled throughout Hindustan. Grants from royal treasury are allotted for meeting the expenditure thereon.¹

The author of Nuzhat quotes Barani as follows:—

"Its building was supported by high and tall pillars. It stood on an extensive plot of land. It was dotted with numerous domes. There were many courtyards in between. No such building was ever made...neither before nor after it."

In view of its massiveness and grandeur as well as of wide roads and salubrious climate it should rank among the wonders of the world. Once admitted into no one would like to go out. It was a residential school. The teachers and the students mostly resided there. The poor students were provided with stipends, board and lodging. The school also supported the poor, the crippled destitute. In a sense, the school served as a charity house and a poor house and was well known as such.² Moulana Jalaluddin Roomi taught Fiqah, Hadith, and Tafsir in this Madrassah.

Firoz Shah's court was also thronged by many talented men of repute.³ They were regularly paid salaries from the royal treasury. Out of a total expenditure of 1,36,00 tankas on rewards, 36,00,000 tankas were reserved for scholars and leaders of religion.⁴

Firoz Tughlaq went a step further than his pre-

1. *Ibid*, p. 564.

2. Barani, p. 562—566; Elliot Vol. III, p. 441.

3. Farishta, Vol. I, p. 461.

4. Law, p. 51.

decessors for promotion of learning. He deputed a large number of scholars for carrying on teaching work among his subjects in various parts of his territory. The stream of knowledge thus flowed in every nook and corner of his vast kingdom and high and low equally drank from it. This step of Firoz Tughlaq had far-reaching effect. As these scholars scattered throughout the kingdom, learning caught the imagination of the public as never before and higher education was within easy reach of the common man.¹

Firoz had special fondness for slaves whom he reared and trained very carefully. The king had banned the presentation of gifts by the nobles. They, therefore, adopted the practice of presenting slaves instead. No less than 18,000 slaves were thus presented. A separate department was established to manage their affairs. The department was looked after by the king himself. The slaves were educated in all branches of literature, arts and technology. Once 12,000 of these slaves were turned out as scholars, technicians and merchants.²

The reign of the Tughlaq dynasty deserves special mention for two reasons. Mohammad Tughlaq had a great liking for rational sciences like philosophy, logic, astronomy, mathematics received special attention along with the teaching of Tafsir, Hadith and Fiqah. The number of books on mental sciences in the curriculum went on increasing ever since. We will deal with this subject, later in the chapter on syllabi and curriculum to show that the step taken in the time of Mohammad Tughlaq for development of mental sciences culminated in the preparation and consolidation of the curriculum in the shape of Dars-i-Nizamia.

1. Yusuf, p. 81.

2. Zakaullah, Vol. II, p. 208; Laws, pp. 54-55; Jaffar, p. 52.

The other factor which contributed to the great prominence of the Tughlaq reign was the unity and cooperation among the Hindus and the Muslims. The close social proximity of the two had begun the process of integration as we have already seen in the reign of Alauddin. But the second step was taken by the Tughlaqs when they had the Sanskrit books translated into Persian and appointed the Hindus to high offices of the state.

On the death of Firoz Tughlaq, four kings ascended the throne in quick succession. The political, economic and educational conditions in Delhi and its neighbourhood worsened a great deal in their reign. Mohammad Tughlaq II, the last king of the Tughlaq dynasty was succeeded by Khizr Khan who ascended the throne as the vicegerent of Timur in 814 A.H. (1412 A.D.). The Dynasty, known as the Sayyid dynasty, comprised four kings and ruled upto 854 A.D. (1450 A.D.). Khizr Khan and Mobarak Shah are well-known for establishing schools and promoting learning. Under this dynasty Badaun became the centre of knowledge and literature. Historical records of the time available today fail to mention the details but a very large number of scholars and doctors of religion and law were assembled there along with innumerable students. In no way did it rank lower than Delhi and Firozabad in this respect.

The
Sayyids.

Hundreds of edifices like mosques, tombs, schools etc. were reared. There were regular arrangements for education in schools.

Mr. Franklin says:—

“The city of Badaun served as the capital of the

1. Law, p. 71.

Pathan kings for years. The ruined and desolate portions of the ancient buildings, still found there are the relics of gardens, mosques, khanqahs (Monasteries) and schools of old".¹

The Lodis.

The last of the Sayyid kings renounced the throne in favour of Bahlol Lodi, the Governor of the Punjab. The whole reign of Bahlol Lodi was occupied with subduing the independent states in the vicinity of Delhi. He did not, however, ignore the development of education. He was not a great scholar, yet loved the company of the learned men and showered rewards and gifts on them. He had a special aptitude for building schools. He established numerous schools and makhtabs to improve the moral and intellectual level of his subjects and to promote education among them. These schools had the best arrangements for efficient and regular teaching.

Sikandar Lodi.

Sikandar Lodi succeeded Bahlol as king of Delhi. In his time the learning and literature developed so high that the rich and the poor were equally eager to acquire knowledge. The king himself was a great scholar and prolific poet. He adopted Golrukh as his pen-name. He has left behind a Diwan, consisting of 8,000 or 9,000 couplets. He was a great patron of the scholars, and called to his court every man of learning he heard of, no matter where he was. Once at his court, no scholar he would part with, as far as he could help it.

During the reign of Sikandar Lodi, a great step forward was taken to include mental science and developed logic and rhetoric in the curriculum, giving much greater prominence to these subjects. It is, however, worth noting that the inclusion of mental

1. Referred to by Jaffar, p. 53.

science in the curriculum was first arranged in the time of the Tughlaqs while the next step was taken in the time of Sikandar Lodi, at the insistence of Sheikh Abdullah and Sheikh 'Abdul 'Aziz, who hailed from Multan.

It was in the reign of Sikandar that the Hindus began to learn Persian. Their zeal in this regard enabled them to rise educationally to the level of the Muslims within two centuries. In his reign a Hindu poet, with Brahman as his pen-name, held the post of a Professor in a Muslim College. Another notable feature of his reign was that he made education compulsory for the officers of the army,¹ who thus received training of the intellects along with the military education which was a commendable step of Sikandar Lodi. Besides, he was specially interested in fine arts and industry. At his court were numerous skilled musicians. Mian Taha, the celebrated artist enjoyed his special favour. Arts like calligraphy, translation and compilation also developed in his reign.

Sikandar had, for certain political reasons, made Agra his capital. As the seat of Government of a king like Sikandar, who patronized the learning, Agra developed in knowledge and literature at a very rapid pace and competed with Delhi. It became the centre of gravity for the scholars and the nobles who also patronized knowledge. Most of them were granted Jagirs under Royal seal.

The Lodi dynasty came to an end with the defeat and death of Ibrahim Lodi, the successor of Sikandar Lodi at the hands of the Mughal invader Babar at the field of Panipat in 1526. Babar founded the Moghal

1. Farishta, Vol. I, p. 587.

empire, but Sher Shah an Afghan expelled Humayun from India in 1540 and restored Afghan kingship.

Sher Shah Suri's five year reign was, undoubtedly, a period of enlightenment from every point of view and no other king, with such a short span of rule, can compare with him. Sher Shah was educated at Jaunpur, which was known as Shiraz of India at that time. Sheikh Shahabuddin taught him Kafia and Sharah-i-Kafia. He learnt by heart Gulistan, Bostan, Sikandar-nama and other Persian books. He also took lessons in Philosophy. But he had a special liking for history to which he was devoted till his last days. Being a scholar himself, he patronised the learned, visited schools and Khanqahs with 'Ulama and Sheikhs. He sanctioned gratuities for support in innumerable cases. Sher Shah established a school at Narnol¹ the place, where his grand father was buried.

Salim Shah. Salim Shah was a true successor to his father in regard to his love for learning and literature and his efforts to promote them. He liked to keep company with the learned, the saints and the Mashaikh and held them in great veneration. He arranged for the residence of scholars in the vicinity of his own palace to facilitate the holding of scholastic and philosophical discussions and poets gatherings. In these discussions participated poets and scholars of repute like Mir Sayyid Manjhan, Shah Mohammed Hayati, Safi and Surdas. At times the king attended these discussions in person. He ordered that on his arrival they need not stand up to receive him.²

Since the time of Salim Shah, the Muslims com-

1. Law, p. 136.

2. Qureshi, p. 175.

menced taking greater interest in Hindi poetry and literature. Sheikh Liaqullah Mushtaqi was not only a Persian poet but a poet of repute in Hindi with 'Rajan' as his pen-name.

Sheikh Salim Chishti and Sheikh Nizam Badauni were his religious guides. He was usually accompanied by Sheikh Abdullah Sultanpuri and Sheikh Abdul Hasan Kamboh and derived benefit from their company. Once it so happened that the two in company with the king, were passing through a narrow street when an elephant wild with rage, suddenly appeared. Makhdum-ul-Mulk advanced to shield the king but the king held him back. Thereupon the Sheikh said, O king! let me advance; if you are killed anarchy will overtake the whole kingdom. The king, however, answered, "O Master! you have ignored the fact that in case of my death, there are 90,000 Afghans to replace me, but if some evil befall you, Hindustan will not be able to produce another (scholar) like you for centuries. This episode is enough to give us an estimate of the high degree of veneration in which he held learning and the learned.

Muhammad 'Adil Shah who grabbed the throne by murdering his innocent nephew had little inclination towards learning and literature but had a passion for music and was an accomplished musician himself. Celebrated musicians like Baz Bahadur and Tan Sen had bowed before him in veneration.

'Adil Shah

CHAPTER III

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN AUTONOMOUS STATES

1. Jaunpur or Shiraz of Hind. 2. Gujrat. 3. Malwa. 4. Bengal. 5. Kashmir. 6. Sindh. 7. Khandesh. 8. Bahamni Kingdom. 9. Gaowan School. 10. 'Adil Shahi Kings of Bijapur. 11. Nizam Shahi Kings of Ahmadnagar. 12. Qutb Shahi Kings of Golkanda.

On Muhammad Tughlaq's death, as already stated, the kingdom of Delhi declined rapidly. The kings of Delhi grew weak and Delhi lost its political stability. With the loss of political power it ceased to be the centre of education and culture, which position it had enjoyed for about two centuries. The break-up of the empire led to the establishment of a number of independent rulerships in different parts of the Sub-Continent. The regional and provincial potentates were equally interested in disseminating education and patronising arts and letters. Consequently the capitals of these independent States became centres of culture and learning, and scholars flocked to them from Delhi which had lost its glory, and from foreign countries. Prominent among these States were Jaunpur, Gujrat, Malwa, Bengal and Kashmir. These States made marvellous contribution to the spread and preservation of knowledge in the Mediaeval period of the Indian

history, to which only brief reference can be made in these pages.

Jaunpur, the capital of the "Eastern Kingdom" rightly occupies a place of eminence among contemporaneous States, which kept the torch of learning flame at a time, when Delhi had lost its glamour. It rose into prominence in the year 796 A.H. (1394 A.D.) when Khawaja Jahan Malik Sarwar was appointed by the Tughlaq Sultan Mahmud Shah (1394 A.D.) as governor of Jaunpur, Bihar and Tirboot under the title Malikush Sharq (King of the East). Jaunpur was founded on the ruins of an ancient town by Firoz Tughlaq in memory of his patron and benefactor Muhammad Tughlaq, who was known as Juna Khan before his accession to the throne of Delhi (1361-62 A.D.). Firoz took special care to build in this new city, besides other buildings of public utility, schools, colleges and other educational institutions¹.

Jaunpur or
Shiraz of
Hind.

Khawaja Jahan was succeeded by his adopted son, Mubarak Shah. He had ruled only a year when the cold hand of death snatched him from the throne. The royal crown now adorned the head of his younger brother, Ibrahim. He ruled from 802 A.H. (1400 A.D.) to 843 A.H. (1440 A.D.). During his reign he extended lavish patronage to persons of worth and virtue and Jaunpur became the most prominent educational centre in the whole of the Sub-Continent. No other city could compete with it. Lethbridge says:—

"During Ibrahim's rule, the royal court at Jaunpur far surpassed that of Delhi and attracted the erudite of the east to it"².

1. Tarikh-i-Shiraz-i-Hind or Jaunpur by Syed Iqbal Ahmad, printed at Shiraz-i-Hind Publishing House, Razvi Khan, Jaunpur. pp. 55-56.

2. Quoted by Law, p. 100.

Timur had not only caused great confusion and anarchy in northern Hindustan, but had reduced Persia and Tartar to a worse condition. The men of erudition in these countries were in great distress and eager to seek for refuge a place where they could enjoy comfort, safety and peace of mind. They sought out the royal court of Ibrahim at Jaunpur and gravitated to it in ever-increasing numbers. The king treated them with the utmost respect. The following episode brings fully to light his attitude to the scholars. Among the men of erudition in his time was one Qazi Shahabuddin. Once the Qazi fell ill. The king passed a cup of water around the Qazi's head, drank it and in all humility and sincerity of heart, prayed to God that every evil destined for the Qazi might be his own lot. This episode alone is enough to give an idea of the height of veneration in which the Muslim kings held the scholars. They regarded it as their duty to safeguard the lives of men of learning at the cost of their own.

Many books were written in his reign, most of which were dedicated to him. Among these the well-known ones are Hashia-e-Kafia, Hashia Hindi and Misbah-o-Matan Irshad, Badi-ul-Bayan, and Fatawa-i-Ibrahim Shahi (Bahr-ul-Mawwaj). He himself was a distinguished author. Risala Manaqib-i-Sadat and Risala Aqidat-us-Shahabia are the products of Ibrahim's powerful pen.

On Ibrahim's death the scepter of royalty devolved on Sultan Mahmud and Husain Shah. During their reign, too, educational advance in Jaunpur continued. The last king of the dynasty, Husain Shah, after his defeat by Ibrahim Lodi was permitted to stay within his kingdom. But Sikandar Lodi defeated Barmak and occupied Jaunpur. He razed to the ground all the buildings except the mosques and other sacred places.

But in spite of its political decline and anarchy, educational activities of Jaunpur did not suffer. The fact that the mighty ruler, conqueror and politician, Sher Shah, was brought up and educated in this home of learning and knowledge testifies to the glory of Jaunpur. Shah Jahan proudly called it, "The Shiraz of East". It shows that even in Shahjahan's time Jaunpur ranked fairly high in respect of education and letters. The following extract may give an estimate of its glory:—

"Jaunpur was the centre of Islamic knowledge and sciences and a rendezvous of men of learning. It enjoyed the epithet of Shiraz-i-Hind. There were many schools in the town. Tales of its past glory still linger. We may assert that the city was the "Shiraz of Hindustan" or Paris of Mediaeval ages. Every prince of Jaunpur took pride in being a patron of letters and sciences. In this royal capital, the home of peace and tranquillity, scholars and scientists devoted themselves earnestly to develop knowledge and learning. Even in the time of Mohammad Shah there existed at Jaunpur 20 Madrassahs of repute...of which nothing but names have come down to us. The promotion of learning and literature was not confined to book-knowledge. The magnificent mosques built by Ibrahim and Husain testify to the development of architecture¹.

Mahmud Tughlaq, the son of Firoz Tughlaq Gujrat appointed Zafar Khan as the governor of Gujrat in 793 A.H. (1391 A.D.) Zafar Khan's father, Sabaran, was converted to Islam by Firoz Tughlaq. A little later, Zafar Khan proclaimed his independence. His dynasty ruled over the province for nearly two centuries. Consequently Gujrat became a cradle of learning and literature, a centre of culture, a home of the scholars and the

¹. Jaffar, p. 64; Nadvi, p. 46.

Mashaikh and progressed in arts, craft and agriculture. It maintained its magnificence and glory not only during this period but even after the decline of the Moghal Empire. Erskine says:—

“Foreign trade enriched the royal treasury and the country in general. The land looked like a Paradise. The mosques, schools, palaces and tombs, whose ruins still enhance the glory of Ahmadabad and various other cities and receive tribute of admiration from the travellers, stand a witness to the unbounded wealth and highly refined taste of their builders”.¹

Political anarchy reigned in Delhi, when Zafar Khan declared his independence. Many families, therefore, left Delhi and made Gujrat their home. Zafar Khan assumed the title of Muzaffar Shah after independence. He provided facilities for the ‘Ulama and the Mashaikh to enjoy a life of peace and enabled them to attend to duties whole-heartedly. The most celebrated of them was Sheikh Ahmad Mahatami. Maulana Abdnl Hai of revered memory writes of him: “In my opinion, during the millennium of Hindustan no exponent of truth can compare with him except Shah Wali Ullah of Delhi.”² He has several valuable books to his credit beside a commentary on the Quran.

Ahmad Shah, his grandson, succeeded Zafar Khan. He strengthened the foundation of his kingdom and devoted his full attention to the uplift of the common people. He founded the city of Ahmadabad and studded it with beautiful mosques and schools. He was so punctillious in performing the injunctions of his religion that from his youth to his last days he was

1. Vol. I, p. 21.

2. Yad-i-Ayyam, p. 52.

never late for his morning prayers. He was a disciple of Sheikh Farid Ganj-Shakar and had friendly relations with Sheikh Ahmad Kehtu. He loved learning and literature and was himself a poet.¹

In 862 A.H. (1358 A.D.) Mahmud Shah I became the king. God had endowed him with all the virtues required of a ruler. In his time Gujrat vied with the Garden of Aden. On the one hand the promotion of learning and arts was in full swing; on the other, industry and manufacture flourished all around. Hundreds of mosques, schools and factories were built. He had a special fondness for industry and manufacture. Following the king's example the nobles and the common people turned their whole attention to these pursuits. Consequently this province, in respect of industry and manufacture, got ahead of all others in the Sub-Continent. The progress was maintained till the time of the Moghal Emperors.

On Mahmud's death, his son Muzaffar Shah ascended the throne. He received his education in arts and literature from Allama Mohammad bin Elaiji and in Hadith from Allama Jamaluddin Mohammad bin Omar Bahraq. He knew the Quran by heart. Over and above, he was enriched with piety and determination. He was extremely devoted to the Prophet (peace be on him). He celebrated the Prophet's birthday anniversary with great eclat. He was a good pen-man, and a connoisseur and lover of calligraphy. He copied some verses of the Quran daily, and when the whole of the Quran was copied out, he sent it to Mecca or Medina for persons who recited the Quran before the public.

Muzaffar Shah was succeeded by Rahadur Shah.

1. Tarikh-i-Gujrat by Balley.

He was not well-educated, but during his reign Gujrat made tremendous progress in education, industry and politics. Due to Roomi Khan's treachery, he had to suffer defeat at the hands of Humayun, and was later murdered by the Portuguese in 943 A.H. (1537 A.D.).

Next, Sulan Mahmud ascended the throne. So far as patronage of men of erudition was concerned he did not suffer by comparison with his predecessors. Tales of his generosity drew the 'Ulama from far and near to his court. Some of them came from Arabia and settled at Ahmadabad. Following the tradition of Muzaffar Shah Halim, he celebrated the Prophet's birthday anniversary with great zeal and devotion. On this occasion he conferred upon 'Ulama rewards and gifts sufficient to meet their needs for a year. He sent millions of rupees to Mecca and Medina annually. The money was distributed among the residents of the two cities. He built several Madrassahs in Mecca and paid for their maintenance. After his death, followed the ruin of the dynasty. Gujrat was annexed to his dominion by Akbar in 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.)

The devotion to love and literature of the kings of Gujrat served, in fact, as a torch to enlighten the path for the nobles as well as for the common people. Knowledge, literature, industry and manufacture flourished throughout the province. Moulana Abdul-Hai says, "The extent of patronage afforded to the arts and learning by the kings of Gujrat during two centuries of their sovereignty cannot be equalled by six centuries of Delhi's sovereignty. Their patronage and encouragement attracted 'Ulama of accepted merits from Shiraz, the Yemen and other Islamic countries. They came to, and settled in Gujrat. The teaching institutions of Hindustan are being still benefited by the fountain of their knowledge. In respect of teaching of rational

learning and art, Gujrat was, in fact, the Shiraz of Hind, while in respect of its contribution to the teaching of Hadith, it vied with the blessed Yemen.¹

Like Khawaja Jahan in Jaunpur and Zafar Khan in Malwa, Dilawar Khan Ghauri declared his independence in Malwa in 804 A.H. (1401 A.D.). Politically the kingdom of Malwa may not compete with Gujrat and Jaunpur, but in regard to progress of education it ranked equal. Ujjain, the old capital of Malwa, enjoyed since ancient times, the reputation of being a prominent centre of education. The kings of Malwa abandoned Ujjain and made Mandu their capital. It was named Shadiabad by Sultan Ghayas Uddin. Within a short time Shadiabad surpassed Ujjain and became a big centre of learning and arts.

Among the kings of Malwa, special mention may be made of Mahmud Khilji and Sultan Ghayasuddin Khan. They took great interest in learning and literature and helped their development. Sultan Mahmud was not only a great administrator and an astute politician, but also fond of knowledge and art, and patronized the scholars and men of learning. He favoured education and afforded shelter and aid to the students. He established innumerable schools and *maktabs* within his dominion, sought out and assembled men of letters and doctors of religion at his court and gave them all encouragement. Consequently, the learning and literature received so great an impetus that Malwa came to be known as "the second Greece".

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1. Yad-i-Ayyam, pp. 28-29.

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distinguished scholar abroad, he would send money for his journey, invite him to his court and ensure for him a means of livelihood in teaching profession. Gratuities were paid to the teachers and monetary aid provided to the students. He had a special love for building schools. He established a great school in front of the Hoshang Shahi Jame Mosque in his capital Shadiabad. Another school was established at Sarangpur. Its ruins still exist. While on his way to attack Chittore he built a large number of schools and mosques. In 849 A.H. (1445 A.D.), he built a hospital and a lunatic asylum. Arrangements were properly made for patients wards and residential houses in the hospital. Several villages were set apart as endowment for their expenditure to ensure sound administration.

On the death of Mahmud Khilji, his son, Sultan Ghayasuddin, took up the reins of Government at Malwa. He was specially devoted to education for girls and fine arts. At his court were assembled instrument players, dancers and beautiful women in hundreds. Besides his Darbar-i-'Am (public court), he held a royal court within his seraglio. At this court, women performed the duties of all the offices held by males in the Darbar-i-'Am. e.g. the offices of Amir-al-'Umera, ministers, vakils, Sar Jamadari and treasurer etc: Beside these political official, women acted as Sadar, physician, teacher, nadim, censor, Mufti, Moazzan and Hafiz. He had the women trained in various branches of knowledge and art. Some were trained as dancers, singers and instrument players; others as gold-smiths, iron-smiths, velvet-weavers, bow and arrow manufacturers, potters, weavers, tailors, arrow-case makers, shoe makers, carpenters, boat makers and the like. They were formed in several groups and every group was given in charge of an officer. Five hundred Turkish maids, were trained in archery and spearing and designated as "Turkish

Force". They stood to the right of the king with spears in hand and arrow cases in belt. The Abyssinian women were trained in gunnery and swordsmanship and were placed on his left. In his harem there were one thousand maids who knew the Quran by heart. They recited the verses of the Quran when he was changing his dress. He made considerable provisions for the education and training of women and assembled women in such a large number that a fairly big city with a population of 10,000 females sprang up. All this was, however, motivated by no other considerations but that of education and training of the fair sex, who shares with men the burdens of humanity. Ghayasuddin passed his nights in vigils and was God-fearing. He never missed his late night prayers and engaged in worshipping God several hours before dawn. Nothing could be talked of at his court, not permissible by the religious law of Islam. He had an aversion to all kinds of drugs and intoxicants. In short he was a prayerful and virtuous personality. His actions were governed with the intention of raising humanity to the height of advancement and progress, for he fully recognised the fact that, so long as the fair sex was ignorant and inactive, the advancement of mankind was difficult, rather impossible.

Another school built by him at Zafarabad existed till the time of Sultan Mahmud II¹.

Mohammed Bakhtyar Khilji was the first Muslim general to conquer Bengal in 594 A.H. (1198 A.D.) and Bihar, a little later. After its occupation, he built mosques, schools, Khanqahs, hotels and hostels.² Ghayasuddin I ruled over Bengal from 608 A.H. to 624 A.H. (1212 A.D.—1227 A.D.). He was very eager to

Bengal.

1. Farishta, Vol. IV p. 236; Zakau'llah, pp. 336-337.

2. Salim, p. 164.

promote learning and literature. For the propagation of education, he sanctioned gratuities for teachers and stipends for students. Besides, he had a mosque, a school and an inn constructed at Lakhnauti.¹ According to Farishta he built a new city Rangpur, which he made his capital and endowed it with schools and mosques.

Ghyasuddin II far surpassed his predecessors in serving the cause of learning and literature. In his infancy he was instructed by Sheikh Hamiduddin. He was a scholar and his court had a special attraction for men of learning doctors of religion and poets. The erudite from all directions had assembled at his court.² He sent special invitations to them and held them in great veneration. He invited Khawaja Shamsuddin Muhammad Hafiz Shirazi, but the Khawaja pleaded his infirmity and old age as an excuse and contented himself with sending one of his "Ghazals" (Love-Poems) to him. He established schools for the convenience of students and propagation of education. The school at Umarpura, known as Darsbara, was the most famous. While commenting on this school, Mr. Law writes of such schools in general :

"The remnants of many other schools of this type are disappearing day by day. For instance, nothing remains but a mound of the school building at Isthipur, which the Muslims had raised on the spot, where, after 18 days of bitter fighting between the Kurvas and the Pandavas, the bones of the dead were burnt in a heap. The mound is now known as "Madrassa Tila" (the school mound which indicates the fact that once there had existed a school".³

1. Stuart, p. 56.

2. Dr. Moinul Haque, p. 218.

3. P. 108.

These words clearly show that, centuries ago, there existed a large number of schools in this region, which the changes of time has effaced so completely that even their names have been lost to posterity.

A little after Ghyasuddin's death, Raja Kans ruled over Bengal. Historians have held widely divergent opinions regarding his policy and treatment of the Muslims. But his contribution to the progress of learning and literature as also to the development of the Muslim learning cannot be denied. But his efforts were undoubtedly actuated with a desire to achieve his political aims rather than to promote Muslim learning.¹ Raja Kans died in 806 A.H. (1404 A.D.). His son, Jatmal, adopted Islam as his religion and acceded to the throne under the name of Jalaluddin and Mohammad Shah. The most powerful sovereign, among the independent kings of Bengal was king Alauddin Husain Shah, who ruled over Bengal for 25 years with great magnificence. He extended the boundaries of his kingdom by conquering and annexing the adjoining territories. The kings of Bengal were generally tolerant, but the princes of Husain Shah's dynasty deserve special mention for tolerance and equity. That the Bengali language is reckoned among the most highly developed languages today is due to their efforts. The Hindu Rajas and scholars, having bias for Sanskrit, were deadly opposed to Bengali language. The Muslim kings, however, developed the Bangali learning and literature and patronised it in all possible ways. Husain Shah had Bhagwat Gita translated into Bengali and established numerous schools for promotion of learning and literature.²

Husain Shah's son, Nusrat Shah, was in no way

1. Stuart, p. 94.

2. Salim, p. 133.

less fond of learning and art than his father. It was during his reign that the Mahabharat, the famous epic of the Hindus, was translated into Bengali. These kings, besides their devotion to learning, literature and poetry, had a special love for architecture. Their edifices somewhat differ in style from those reared by other kings. The mosques at Pandara and Gaur are among the famous buildings of the period. In their time were built various schools which have now been effaced from the face of the earth. They too must have been fine examples of architecture.

Kashmir.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Shah Mir, a Muslim set up a Muslim Kingdom in Kashmir. On his accession, he assumed the title of Sultan Shamsuddin. His dynasty ruled over Kashmir for about two centuries and a half, before it was annexed by Akbar in 994 A.H. (1586 A.D.).

Among the kings of Kashmir are included several who patronized knowledge...the most notable of them being Sultan Sikandar, Zainul Abedin and Husain Chak Shah. Sultan Sikandar ruled from 799 A.H.—819 A.H. (1396 A.D.—1416 A.D.). He was a generous promoter of letters. He received religious education from an accomplished scholar, Syed Mohammad. Having heard of his generosity, men of letters gathered at his court, including scholars from places so distant as Iraq and Khurasan. Learning and literature had gained such a universality that Kashmir of Sikandar's time, in no wise, lagged behind Iraq and Khurasan.

On Sikandar's death, Mir Khan and Shahi Khan ascended the throne in quick succession. Mir Khan assumed the name of 'Ali Shah and Shahi Khan of Zainul Abedin. The reign of Zainul Abedin was the golden age of Kashmir, whatever aspect of it we may consider

political, educational, religious or economic. On the one hand, he extended his kingdom by territorial acquisitions and developed agriculture by constructing canals; on the other, he invited the men of erudition from all directions and held them in great veneration. They settled in Kashmir and benefited the people immensely. The king himself was well-up in various branches of learning and arts and had acquired great skill in them. He could speak fluently Persian, Hindi, Sanskrit and Tibetan. His skill in music was well-known far and near. His generosity drew a number of musicians from Persia and Turan to his court. Sages and scholars always thronged his assembly lent grace to it. Mulla Mahmud was his court poet. He had high degree of skill in versifying extempore, Mulla Udi and Mulla Jamil, the reputed scholars from Khurasan, were also at his court. In his reign, there existed the department of historiography. Raj Tarangi, the well-known history of Kashmir was written under the supervision of this department. To another department was entrusted the work of translating Arabic, Persian, Kashmiri and Hindi books from one language to the other.

The third well-known patron of learning among the kings of Kashmir was Husain Chak. He passed most of his time in the company of men of scholarship and piety. His court, like that of Zainul-Abedin, was the centre of gravitation for scholars who flocked his court. They preached and propagated religion and learning. For this purpose he had established a big school and endowed for its maintenance the lands of Pargana Zainpur.

Akbar annexed Kashmir to his empire in 994 A.H. (1586 A.D.) and appointed Husain Khan, as Governor. Husain Khan too was a great patron of learning and art. He established numerous schools in Kashmir and

appointed most qualified teachers on the staff. The lands of Pargana Asiapur were set apart as endowment for expenses. The income from the lands ensured their efficient working.

Sindh.

Sindh was the first province to be conquered by the Muslims in the Indo-Pak Sub Continent. Muhammad bin Qasim entered the Sub-Continent in 93 A.H. (711 A.D.) and conquered Sindh which lay on the route. The chronicles of Sindh since the time of Muhammad bin Qasim to the rise of the Samma dynasty are too inadequate and scattered to be arranged in a complete history. The Tamims ruled over Sindh after Mohammad bin Qasim and were succeeded by the Samras who probably held a particular part of Sindh upto the 14th century. The Samma and the Arghun dynasties followed. The latter dynasty was put to an end by Akbar who annexed Sindh in 1000 A.H. (1592 A.D.). But during the reign of the forgoing dynasties, the kings of Ghazni and Delhi continued their attacks on Sindh and held one part or the other of this province. The successors of Mahmud of Ghazni, Sultan Masud, Madud and Majdud appointed their governors in Sindh. Mohammad Ghorî conquered Sindh and appointed Nasir-ud-din Qubacha as its ruler. Qubacha was Mohammad Ghorî's slave and had acquired in his company great skill in administration and generalship. He married two of Qutbuddin's daughters successively. On Qutbuddin's death he declared his independence but was annihilated by Iltutmish and replaced by Nooruddin. Nasiruddin Qubacha was a man of learning. His court became a centre of scholars and doctors of religion and law. The scholars who fled the countries conquered by Chingiz Khan, flocked at his court. In his time there existed at Uchh, a school known as Firozi. It was managed by Minhajus Siraj. He established another school in Sindh under the

management of Moulana Qutbuddin Kashani who migrated to Sindh in his time.

Several rulers of Samma dynasty were devoted to learning and literature. Special mention may be made of Jam Sanjar and Jam Nizamuddin. Jam Sanjar always had great concern for the welfare of the men of learning and piety: paid them gratuities as he did to others deserving people, and looked after their easement and comfort. He was succeeded by Jam Nizamuddin who far out did his predecessor in regard to the patronage of learning and literature. He passed early years of his life as a student in schools and Khanqahs. He was a scholar as well as pious and prayerful. During his reign, scholars, saints and dervishes lived a care-free life and he devoted a considerable part of his time to learned discussions. Moulana Jalaluddin Muhammad Diwan expressed his wish to come over to this Sub-Continent. The Jam arranged for his expenses and comforts on the way but meanwhile the Moulana had answered to the call of death and departed. However, two of his disciples, Mir Shams and Mir Moin came to the Sub-Continent and benefited the people of Sindh with their erudition. Jam Firoza, son of Jam Nizamuddin, was a weak ruler given to licentiousness. But his minister was a lover of learning and arts like his former master. He maintained Makhdum Abdul Aziz *Muhaddith* and two of his sons, Asiluddin and Moulana Muhammad, at his Jagir, the village of Kahan. They enjoyed great reputation in rational and traditional learning from which the high and the low were equally benefited.

The kings of the Samma dynasty were succeeded by the Arghuns. Two kings of the dynasty, Shah Beg and Shah Husain, ascended the throne successively. Shah Beg adorned himself with learning and literature since his early youth. He was well versed in various branches

of knowledge; kept company with scholars and students; and was himself an author. He held the men of learning in esteem.¹ His son and successor, Shah Husain, too, was, like his father, a man of sound scholarship and patronized the Syeds, the Mashaikh and the 'Ulama; paid them regular stipendiary grants from the royal treasury. He was devoted to learning since his childhood. This devotion he maintained throughout his life, it rather became more absorbing with age. He thus acquired considerable skill in rational and traditional learning. He was a lover of poetry and occasionally composed verses.

On the death of Shah Husain, one or two kings ruled over Sindh which was ultimately conquered and annexed to his empire by Akbar in 1000 A. H. (1592 A.D.).

Khandesh.

During the reign of Firoz Tughlaq, Malik Raj Farooqi established his independent kingdom in Khandesh. His son, Nasir Khan is reputed as a patron of letters. No sooner did he ascend the throne than he assembled men of accomplishments and skill, belonging to different places, in Khandesh and made to them grants in the shape of fiefs and gratuities. He founded Zainpur and Burhanpur after Shaikh Zainuddin and Sheikh Bahauddin. The cities developed rapidly. The kings of Khandesh shifted their capital to Burhanpur. The famous school at Burhanpur was probably established by him while the well-known school at Daulatpur also reached at its zenith during his reign. Shaikh Burhanuddin and Shaikh Ziauddin were on its staff.² Another king of this family, Raja 'Ali Khan, was also a patron of learning. He used to pass considerable

1. Farishta, Vol. IV, p. 432.

2. Law, p. 99,

portion of his time with scholars and doctors of religion and law. He himself was a scholar of accepted merits.

In the time of Muhammad Tughlaq, a series of rebellions broke out, in course of which certain provinces in Northern India, and in the Deccan declared independence. The Sultan entrusted to Zafar Khan the task of suppressing the rebels. He, however, established an independent kingdom comprising Deogiri, Haiderabad and Madras and founded a new dynasty of rulers known as the Bahmani dynasty. It ruled over the Deccan for two centuries with great magnificence and splendour. The Bahmani rulers were mostly patrons of Arts and made great efforts to promote learning and literature. They built numerous schools for this purpose and appointed regular staff for them.

Bahmani
Kingdom.

Farishta says of the Sultan Mahmud, that he could recite the verses of the Quran with fluency and due articulation. He wrote a beautiful hand, had a poetic temperament and occasionally composed verses. He could speak Persian and Arabic fluently; was a scholar of merit, well-read and well-skilled in Philosophy and Science. He patronized scholars and rewarded them richly. He was specially kind to the scholars of Hadith. He lavished monetary grants to enable them to follow their learned pursuits in ease and comfort. He established within his dominion a large number of schools. He built schools in the cities of Gulburga, Bidar, Qandahar, Ellichpur, Daulatabad and Jhoolwail besides many other places.

He had a special consideration for the orphans and established several schools for their education. He also sent an invitation to Khawaja Hafiz, the celebrated poet of Shiraz. Hafiz accepted the invitation and embarked a ship, but postponed his voyage owing

to unfavourable wind. He did not dare risk another chance, but sent one of his poetical compositions a "Ghazal," to Mahmud who sent to him, as mark of appreciation, rare gifts worth 1,000 Tankas. Firoz Shah followed Mahmud on the throne. In regard to development of learning and literature during the Bahmanid period, the reign of Firoz Shah is regarded as "the golden age". Farishta does not tire of admiring his erudition. He writes that this distinguished ruler was conversant with most of the languages of the world and talked to foreigners in their own mother tongue. He had a powerful memory. He never heard a thing but remembered it all his life. He could appreciate fully the poetry of the poets of skill ingenuity and at times composed verses himself. He assumed the pen-names of Arooz and Firozi and used them as he could. To him has been dedicated by Mulla Dawood Bidari, his work "Tohfah-us-Salatin".

Firoz Shah was interested in every branch of knowledge specially in Tafsir-o-Usul and rational and traditional learning and was skilled in all these branches of knowledge. He was punctillious in observing prayers and fasts. He copied one-fourth chapter of the Quran daily and kept company with the Ulama and the Mashaikh till midnight. In these meetings, court formalities were dispensed with. The king met all on equal and brotherly terms. Men of skill assembled at his court from far and near and enhanced its glory. He had a keen desire to promote education. He himself used to give lessons in Mathematics, Euclid, Geometry and rhetorics. If he could not spare time during the day, he gave lessons at night. He ordered an observatory to be built at Daulatabad in 810 A.H. (1408 A.D.). The work was begun by Hakim Hasan Gilani and Syed Mohammad Gazrifi, but could not be completed owing to Gilani's death.

Firoz was succeeded by his brother Khan-i-Khanan. He followed his brother's example in promoting learning and literature and propagating education. He strained every nerve in paying reverence to the scholars and the Mashaikh. He had great faith in Khawaja Gesu Daraz. He built a school at Gulbarga for the Khawaja. Probably the school was of a monasterial (Khanqahi) type. Khawaja Gesu Daraz, besides being a *durvesh*, was a great scholar, author and educationist. His works are of a high standard. Two of his works, "Adab-ul-Murid," and "Wajad-ul-Ashiqin" are quite well-known. His son Muhammad Akbar also was a man of erudition and, like his father, devoted to writing and compiling books. "Aqaid-i-Akbari," is the product of his pen. Ahmad Shah rewarded men of learning and poets lavishly. He rewarded Sheikh Azari with 7,00,000 Daccani Tankas, besides paying Rs. 25,000 as expenses for his journey.

His son and successor Sultan Alauddin built several Mosques and excellent hospitals. He endowed several villages for the maintenance of the hospitals. The income from the endowment was spent on supply of medicine and food to the patients and payment of salaries to the teachers. The king himself was an eloquent speaker, well-versed in Persian with a fair acquaintance with other branches of learning. He personally used to read out the *Khutba* at Friday and 'Id prayers and preached to the audience to practice good deeds. In 867 A.H. (1463 A.D.) Muhammad Shah bin Humayun became the ruler of Bahmani kingdom at the age of nine. Khawaja Jahan Turk spared no pains to educate and train him. The king on the advice of Makhdam Jahan, was placed in charge of Haider Khan Shustar, reputed to be a man of sound scholarship and erudition in his age. Muhammad Shah devoted himself to the acquisition of knowledge and attainment of perfection in learning and literature. No other king of this dynasty

after Firoz Shah Bahmani could compare with him in regard to scholarship and erudition.¹

His reign is also remembered for the literary activities and educational expansion of his minister, Khawaja Muhammad Gawan, who was a great patron of letters. He had extraordinary skill in rational and traditional learning, especially in Mathematics and the science of medicine. He had no equal in literature, both prose and poetry, and was a master of epistolary style. He was a skilled calligrapher, author and compiler. He left behind a book "Rauzat-ul-Insha," and a Diwan (treasury of poems). He was in constant correspondence with the scholars and literary men of his time in Iraq and Khorasan. This correspondence is preserved in his book "Rauzat ul-Insha". His fame and generosity knew no bounds. Hardly was there in Asia a town or a city where the 'Ulama, the Mashaikh and other men of learning did not have the benefit of rewards and grants from him². The celebrated Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami composed an ode about him, and in another Qita (Quartette) requested for reward.

Mahmud Gawan, besides being the Wazir of the Bahmani kingdom, spent all his income on dissemination of knowledge and on giving rewards, gratuities and stipends. Plain thinking and high living was the motto of his life. In fact, his only possession in life were his knowledge, his popularity and the public esteem he enjoyed. An idea of his devotion to knowledge may be gained by the fact that, on his death he left behind 35,000 books in addition to the 3,000 books he had donated to the library of the college at Bidar.³

1. Jaffar, p. 163.

2. Law, p. 87.

3. Sherwani, pp. 184—200.

The school built by Mahmud Gawan at Bidar holds, in the annals of letters, a position superior to that of any other educational institution of the time in this Sub-Continent. About this building of Mahmud Gawan, Farishta, the celebrated historian writes. "In the Deccan there are numerous buildings in existence, or in ruins, built by Mahmud Gawan. The school at Ahmadabad in Bidar which the Khawaja built a couple of years before his martyrdom, is, however, worth special mention. The remnants of this building, as those of the mosque and Char Taq Bazar are extant in 1023 A.D.; the year of writing. These buildings are so elegant and exquisite, that they seem to have been finished just now". Maulana Abul Hasanat says of it: "This school has always been spoken of very highly among the buildings and antiquities not only of the Deccan but in the literary annals of Hindustan. The school was founded by Khawaja Mahmud Gawan, the celebrated patron of letters. The school building still stands as a monument at once awe-inspiring and instructive for the travellers of the world. Some portions of the building are in a dilapidated condition, yet the spectator can, in one glance, picture its past grandeur spaciousness and massiveness. It was built on the top of a hillock. It is 75 yards long from east to west and 55 yards wide from north to south. One of the two minarets on the front side of the school building still stands. It is hundred feet high, within the school courtyard stood a mosque, and all around was a long chain of spacious rooms for the hosteller's residence. Expenditure on their board and lodging was met out of endowments funds. The water supply was arranged from a considerable distance, for which pipes were laid. At no other period in the annals of Hindustan was there constructed for school purposes a mass of buildings, more splendid and more spacious. A poet of the time, with Sam'ai as his pen-name, composed a chronogram. He discovered that the

date of its foundation was contained in a verse of the Quran, "Rabbana Taqabbal Minna," (My Lord, accept it from me) and composed a quatrain, setting the chronogram therein:—

This splendid school building with auspicious foundations

Has become for the pious, Qiblah (a point of turning towards like Ka'ba,

See, it is a sign of its acceptance that its chronogram is contained

In the verse of the Quran "My Lord, accept it from me."¹

"The frontage of the mosque, lavishly adorned with mosaic of various patterns and shapes, was crowned with two grand minarets each measuring 100 feet high. The minarets were beautified with the finest inlay-work in intricate designs and added to the attraction of the building. It is a three storey building, each storey rising above the other, adding to its grandeur. It comprises mosque, class rooms and residential rooms for students and teachers with a spacious open plot in the middle, measuring 100 feet square. The building has satisfactory arrangements for ventilation and light. The modern buildings cannot claim superiority over it in this regard.² A portion of this building was destroyed by an explosion of gun-powder in the time of Aurangzeb. Enough of it remains, however, to indicate its beauty and grandeur.

After Muhammad Shah, his son Mahmud Shah came to the throne. In his time, the Bahmani kingdom was

1. Pp. 64-65.

2. Yazdani, quoted by Sherwani, p. 144.

parcelled out into several parts. Yusuf 'Adil Shah founded the 'Adil Shahi Kingdom at Bijapur, while Nizam Shahi kingdom was established at Ahmadnagar by Malik Ahmad, Qutb Shahi kingdom at Golkanda by Qutb Shah, Imad Shahi kingdom by Fatehullah Shah at Berar, and Barid Shahi kingdom by Qasim Barid at Bidar. We now give a brief account of progress and development of learning and literature under these dynasties.

The dynasty was founded by Yusuf 'Adil Shah. He was a ruler with administrative foresight and experience and was not devoid of literary accomplishments. He excelled in penmanship and besides being a connoisseur of prosody and poetry, was an accomplished musician. He played exquisitely on the tabor and the lute, and patronized the masters of this art. He was enamoured of the ancient poets and occasionally composed poems himself. He adorned his court with men of skill from Iran, Arabia and Asia minor and granted them privileges to ensure their permanent settlement.

'Adil Shahi
Kings of
Bijapur.

His son Isma'il 'Adil, too, was, like his father, a patron of scholars, theologians and poets. He held them in great esteem. He was an expert musician and composed poems with Wafai as his pen-name. He renounced the Shi'a faith and adopted the Sumai faith. He was specially inclined to the instruction in Hadith, and for this purpose he appointed divines in the Juma mosque.

His son, 'Ali 'Adil Shah, on accession to the throne, again restored the Shi'a faith and his orthodoxy set the Sunnis against him. But for all his orthodoxy his esteem for scholars and the erudite persevered. He, too, invited men of accomplishments from various places to his court and honoured them according to their deserts.

His successor, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II was the most famous ruler of the dynasty. After nominating him as his successor in his life-time, 'Ali 'Adil Shah had taken special care in his upbringing and education. On his succession, during the regency, his education and training was looked after by Chand Bibi. He acquired great skill in military arts. He was also interested in fine arts and music. Of the latter art he was a master and most of the experts in this art took pride in sitting at his feet for instruction. He wrote a book, entitled "Nauras," on the art of music.¹ Zahuri and Malik Qumi among the poets and Muhammad Qasim Farishta and Rafiuddin Shirazi among the historians enjoyed the highest reputation at his court. Ibrahim was a great patron of learning and his generosity had attracted to his court men of letters from far and near. They enriched Bijapur with the wealth of knowledge by their unostentatious but valuable services.

Nizam Shahi
Kings of
Ahmad-
nagar.

As the Bahmani kingdom weakened, one Malik Ahmad, following Bijapur, declared his independence. He was not much interested in letters but was enamoured of swordmanship. In his time the art became so common throughout his dominion, that centres for instructions in swordmanship sprang up everywhere just like educational institutions in other Islamic countries.

On Ahmad Shah's death, his son, Burhanuddin succeeded him. He was only seven at the time: His upbringing and education were so well looked after by Mukammal Khan that, at the age of ten, he could study Kafia and Mutawassit. At this age he could write Arabic (Naskh) elegantly and made an exquisite copy of a treatise on moral science in which were discussed the

1. Referred to by Nadvi, p. 44.

duties of a king Burhan Shah adopted the Shi'a faith and strained every nerve to preach it. Opposite the fort of Ahmadnagar he established a school for propagating the Shi'a faith, and built a charity house known as Langer Khana Dwazdah Imam. To meet the expenses on this charity house he made an endowment of Jaunpur, Sanwar, Ariapur villages.

Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, arrived in Deccan in his early youth, during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani. He became a favourite with the king's harem, being a good calligrapher and an expert Arithmetician. On one occasion he saved the king's life and was rewarded with the ministership. During the period of decline of the Bahmani kingdom, he succeeded to set up an independent principality at Golkanda. Most of his life was passed in wars but in the later part of his life he attended to the administration and development of his territories. He commenced adorning his capital with mosques, gardens and edifices; but could not give a practical shape to all his ideas, as he was, shortly after, murdered by his son.

Qutb Shahi
Kings of
Golkanda.

The fourth king of this dynasty, Ibrahim Qutb Shah had a love for architecture. He built, besides other buildings, several schools. He liked to associate with the 'Ulama and made queries about injunctions of Shari'at (Islamic Law).

His son and successor, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah was talented poet, a patron of letters and eager to promote and develop knowledge and learning. He established several schools in his dominion, especially at Hyderabad. "In these schools the students sit on the benches and write with reed pens on China paper which is very smooth but inferior to European paper in point

of finish".¹ At his court was Nashati, the reputed author of Tuti Nama and Phulban in the Deccani dialect. Mir Muhammad Momin Astarabadi was his Vakil-i-Saltanat. The Mir was an accomplished scholar and combined both the secular and religious honours. He was an appreciable poet. The king treated him with extreme consideration and faith, and consulted him in all important matters.

The foregoing account of educational conditions prevailing in Muslim India before the advent of the Mughuls in the Sub-Continent (which synchronises with the beginning of the Renaissance in Western Countries), though extremely brief, will show clearly that Islamic world in mediaeval times had made miraculous progress in learning and intellectual advancement. It had also covered a large field in the evolution of new sciences, and resurrection of ancient knowledge and philosophy which had lapsed into oblivion after the decline of Greece and Rome. This condition of educational and cultural advancement was at par with that of Muslim States in other parts of the world whose rulers and chiefs extended their patronage freely and lavishly to the spread of education among all classes of people, irrespective of class distinction or caste restriction. Though they did not make education a state function, yet their munificence and liberality to private institutions made amends for want of state patronage and supervision. If we examine the internal administration of these institutions and also the scope of their activity we cannot but come to the conclusion that these semi-government institutions did not suffer in comparison with, and in some cases were better organized and equipped than, the present Government Colleges and schools.

1. Jaffer, p. 73.

The general level of literacy and healthy spirit of competition for providing educational facilities for common people, as well as large number of pupils who flocked to the institutions set up for this purpose by kings, nobles and men of scholarly attainments knock the bottom out of the malicious propaganda by the enemies of Islam that the Middle age was universally a period of darkness and that the emergence of humanity into light of learning and civilisation is linked with the revival of learning in Christendom. It is no doubt true that Europe in Middle ages was steeped in intellectual darkness. The clouds of ignorance, bitter religious persecution and ignorance spread over it and did not allow the rays of enlightenment and knowledge penetrate through the prevailing gloom. Learning and reason, which had once been the glory of Greece and Rome had given way to prejudice and blind faith to religious dogmas and priesthood. The Christian church, dominated by papacy and his nominees, had become absolutely corrupt and incorrigibly retrogressive and its deadening effect was felt in every society. The growth of cultural and educational activities, development of reason, exact sciences and independent thinking were strictly *tabooed*. The Muslims, on the other hand, not only patronised and disseminated knowledge among common people without any class or caste distinction, but also preserved and promoted, whatever beneficial they discovered in the cultural contributions and intellectual achievements of the people whom they conquered and brought under their subjugation.

Education, like other moral and social virtues, had its sanction in the fundamental principles of Islam. Its acquisition and communication to others had been accepted by the *millet* as a religious obligation. The spiritualisation of education and its organisational framework was absolutely in harmony with the broad-based

Was the
Middle age
a time of
darkness?

ideology of Islam, which has made it an enlightened guide for life in this world and hereafter. Islam has not divided life into water-tight compartments by separating spiritual and temporal functions of human life. They go side by side and contribute to healthy development of a man's character and day-to-day achievement. By linking up education with religion, Islam does not mean nor does advocate the narrowing down of the scope and utility of educational activities. It embraces all branches of learning and full investigation into exact science which Christianity had interdicted in the name of religion. Islam produced philosophers and scientists, whose contributions and investigations, if left to the tender conscience of Christian ecclesiastics, would have been condemned to the barbaric *vendetta* of the Inquisition and Church Courts. They did not hesitate to resuscitate the old Greek and Roman learning, which was conveyed to West through their agency. But for them the culture and civilisation evolved by ancient people would have been completely forgotten and Europe would have been totally denied, or taken a far longer period to feel, the light of intellectual rebirth. Hence the fact has been at last dawning that the prejudiced western writers, who have gloated upon the supposed barrenness and intellectual dearth of the Mediaeval world had in their view only the Christian world. In the Muslim world in the contemporaneous period the fountain of learning and reason was flowing with full force. The Muslim Spain, Egypt, Baghdad, Damascus were centres of knowledge. They produced renowned Muslim scientists, philosophers, mathematicians, doctors, etc. on whose findings and efforts the Europeans have constructed the edifice of modern knowledge and science.

No Government control of education under Muslims!

It looks surprising that while laying great stress upon the promotion of learning, encouraging spread of literacy in masses and patronising arts and literature,

there is no mention of any official department looking after the establishment of schools, colleges, etc. and their administration and proper functioning. In India, for instance, there was in the course of several centuries of Muslim rule not a single separate department dealing with education, as we find, nowadays, in every country. Government control of education, no doubt facilitates the spread of education and resolves many other problems, specially financial, which the best private enterprise in education cannot equal. But, on the other hand, these facilities are generally provided at the cost of killing the initiative of teachers and depriving the teachers and the taught both of that free and bracing atmosphere which helps foster individual initiative and spontaneous growth of intellect, character and mental vigour. Teachers were free to adopt syllabi of their own choice having regard only to their suitability to pupils' understanding and mental make-up. Lack of government supervision and subsidies did not affect the educational institutions qualitatively or quantitatively in any Islamic country. Men of means including rulers set up rich endowments for the purpose of running educational institutions; whose income was sufficient to meet expenses of imparting education, giving scholarships to students and even providing, gratis, books, food and accommodation to needy students. There was no dearth of madrasas, maktabas and even colleges in cities and rural centres in Islamic countries in spite of lack of direct government supervision and fixed subsidies.

The Muslim kings had no idea of exploiting education for political purposes, as is done nowadays, by turning it into an agency for exercising hold upon the intellect and genius of young students. Such a totalitarian view of education was far from their comprehension. They also did not favour the idea of

keeping education the proud privilege of a few classes of people. They were eager to make it universal and let all persons, high and low among their subjects, have its benefit. Hence they left it to be looked after by 'Ulama and philanthropists, of course, giving them every possible encouragement and guidance. Every Muslim government in India and other countries had a minister, who awarded Jagirs, free grants of land, and maintenance allowance out of Auqaf property to teachers, and 'Ulama to enable them to devote themselves fully to the pursuit of knowledge and spread of education.

CHAPTER IV

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION AND LEARNING UNDER MUGHUL RULERS

1. Amir Timur. 2. Babar. 3. Humayun. 4. Akbar.
5. Jahangir. 6. Shahjahan. 7. Aurangzeb.

In the history of the Pak-Indo Sub-Continent, the Mughul period, for its many characteristics, is known as the "Golden Age". The period of about two centuries from Babar to Aurangzeb is, in fact, worthy of being recorded in letters of gold, not only in the history of Pak-Hind Sub-Continent, but in the history of the world. Babar laid foundation of the Mughul dynasty in 932 A.H. (1526 A.D.) after defeating Ibrahim Lodi at the battle field of Panipat, and gradually the dynasty got settled in the conquered land. The people of Hindustan were already familiar with the names of Babar's accenters who had invaded Hindustan before him. But Babar did not return after conquest, like Chingez Khan or Timur. He came, conquered and settled here permanently.

Amir Timur, generally known as a conqueror, was a patron of letters, too. He had mastery over Turkish and Persian languages. He enjoyed holding conversations with 'Ulama and venerated them, as evidenced by his treatment of Hafiz and Ibn Khaldun. Not only

in time of peace but also in wars, he was accompanied by 'Ulama. He took care to guarantee protection to every scholar, even to those who opposed him. When he attacked Loni, he ordered not to destroy the houses of Syeds, the Sheikhs and the men of learning.¹ He has written his autobiography, 'Malfuzat-i-Taimuri', which is a living testimony to his love of learning and capacity to rule. He established a school at Samarqand and libraries at various places for the promotion of learning.

His grandson, Sultan Mirza, was also a scholar. He founded a college at Samarqand. Within the campus of this college are situated the tombs of Timur and his descendants, who ruled over Samarqand. The grandson of Sultan Mirza, 'Umar Sheikh, the father of Babar, was a poet himself and appreciated poetry. He studied books on poety and history. Shahnama, the great Persian epic, was often read to him. He liked good companions, was a good conversationalist and had a smiling face. He quoted from the poets appropriately and was mostly absorbed in the study of the Quran.²

Babar.

The accounts of the early life of Babar are rather obscure. Nothing is known definitely about his early education and training.³ The vicissitudes of fortune, he had to pass through, since his father's death, did not probably allow him to attend to his own education. But this want of eduction was made up by his innate ability and intelligence. He had acquired great skill in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi. He specially appreciated the works of Amir Khusro, Nizami, Jami and Salami, besides the Shahnama of Firdausi and Masnawi of

1. Law, p. 67.

2. Zakaullah, 3-36.

3. Lancpoole, p. 22.

Jalaluddin Rumi. A number of books are from his own powerful pen, the most well-known being his autobiography. It records the events upto the year 926 A.H. (1520 A.D.). Babar had written the events of his life in Turkish. Khan-i-Khanan translated them into Persian in 998 A.H. (1590 A.D.). "It is a priceless record of events for all time and fit to rank with the confessions of St. Augustine and Rousseau and the Memoirs of Gibbon and Newton. In Asia it stands almost alone".

Besides having an excellent epistolary style, he was a great poet. His Diwan (book of poems) in Turkish is reputed for its sobriety and eloquence. His Masnawi, like his Diwan, is a work of high degree of excellence. He had a love of fine arts and was skilled in the art of music. He invented a new style of calligraphy known in his name, as Babri Style of pen-manship.¹

He was, like his ancestors, fond of the company of men of erudition and skill. At his court were numerous poets, such as Sheikh Abdul Wahid, Sheikh Zain, Mulla 'Ali Khan and Turdi Beg, the celebrated punster, Shahabuddin and the historian, Ghyasuddin Muhammad Rhunda Mir. They were held in great esteem by Babar.

It is a matter for regret that a king with such accomplishments was spared for a short period of four years. As the most of this period was devoted to wars, he could not do much for promotion of learning and arts to jutstify our expectations of him. He included among the duties of the Public Works Department, "the publication of a gazette and the building of schools and

1. Jaffar, p. 77.

colleges". This one step is enough to give us an idea to his interest in the propagation of knowledge.

Babar, in his autobiography, has not formed a good opinion of Pak-Hind Sub-Continent. He says that there was no college in Hindustan. But we have to examine the statement in the light of facts. Before we arrive at a conclusion, we must consider the following facts:—

- (1) Babar had not got the same sentiments for the Sub-Continent as ultimately captivated his successors' hearts; (2) Most of his time before and after his conquest of Delhi was devoted to wars and struggles. He could not, therefore, make a correct estimate of the social and educational conditions prevailing in the Sub-Continent; (3) When he wrote his biography he had seen only a small portion of Northern India. He could not visit the whole of it, much less of the Sub-Continent, during the remaining few years of his life; (4) He denies the existence of a college here, but mentions the existence of libraries. In his time there existed in the Panjab the library of a distinguished Afghan, Ghazi Khan. It comprised, books not only on religion, but on many branches of knowledge. Some of the books he sent to Humayun and Kamran. (Erskine, Vol. II, p. 171). In the Muslim period, big schools and colleges alone did not make centres of learning, nearly all the mosques served as *Maktabs* and schools. At these institutions the highest education was imparted to the maximum number possible. It does not preclude the existence of big educational institutions. (Jaffar, p. 78; Law, p. 126.)

The fact is that education was not confined within the four-walls of these institutions. It was propagated, as already described, by other means as well. The educational conditions prevailing in the Sub-Continent in Babar's time were not so bad as Barbar's words indicate. Had he lived longer and seen more of the Sub-Continent, his observations would have been quite different and he would have desisted from making so sweeping a statement.

After a four year rule, Barbar left this mortal world. He was succeeded by his eldest son, whose life was dear to him than his own. Humayun's time in the Sub-Continent was mostly spent in suppressing rebel chiefs and in his fruitless struggle with Sher Shah. But for all his political pre-occupations he did not neglect his duty to promote learning and literature. In his kingdom considerable attention was paid to his education. He was skilled in rational and traditional learning and had a fondness for poetry. His main interest lay in the Mathematics, Astronomy or Geography and Science. He wrote a treatise on nature of the elements. He was the first to introduce the globe and the Astrolabe in the Pak-Hind, Sub-Continent. He invented a new type of Astrolabe, known as Astrolabe of Humayun.¹ He was busy building a peculiar type of observatory with ingeniously designed radiation rooms of various colours, which took their names from the various planets. He held his court on different days of the week in the room conforming to the day's planet.² But his preference for Astronomy and Science, did not make him a Scientist devoid of all aesthetic tastes. He took considerable interest in poetry and literature. He was endowed with rhythmic sensibility. In his spare hours he composed verses with Humayun as his pen-name. In the royal library of Akbar was preserved a copy of his "Dawn," (Treasury of Verses).³

Humayun was very studious. His habit of study was not confined to peace times; even during the wars he carried books with him. When he was forced to flee the Sub-Continent in a helpless and destitute condition, he managed to take with him a small collection of selected

¹ Nadvi, p. 29.

² Farishta, pp. 178—180.

³ Sufi, p. 51.

colleges''. This one step is enough to give us an idea to his interest in the propagation of knowledge.

Babar, in his autobiography, has not formed a good opinion of Pak-Hind Sub-Continent. He says that there was no college in Hindustan. But we have to examine the statement in the light of facts. Before we arrive at a conclusion, we must consider the following facts:—

- (1) Babar had not got the same sentiments for the Sub-Continent as ultimately captivated his successors' hearts; (2) Most of his time before and after his conquest of Delhi was devoted to wars and struggles. He could not, therefore, make a correct estimate of the social and educational conditions prevailing in the Sub-Continent; (3) When he wrote his biography he had seen only a small portion of Northern India. He could not visit the whole of it, much less of the Sub-Continent, during the remaining few years of his life; (4) He denies the existence of a college here, but mentions the existence of libraries. In his time there existed in the Panjab the library of a distinguished Afghan, Ghazi Khan. It comprised, books not only on religion, but on many branches of knowledge. Some of the books he sent to Humayun and Kamran. (Erskine, Vol. II, p. 171). In the Muslim period, big schools and colleges alone did not make centres of learning, nearly all the mosques served as *Maktabas* and schools. At these institutions the highest education was imparted to the maximum number possible. It does not preclude the existence of big educational institutions. (Jaffar, p. 78; Law, p. 126.)

The fact is that education was not confined within the four-walls of these institutions. It was propagated, as already described, by other means as well. The educational conditions prevailing in the Sub-Continent in Babar's time were not so bad as Barbar's words indicate. Had he lived longer and seen more of the Sub-Continent, his observations would have been quite different and he would have desisted from making so sweeping a statement.

After a four year rule, Barbar left this mortal world. He was succeeded by his eldest son, whose life was dearer to him than his own. Humayun's time in the Sub-Continent was mostly spent in suppressing rebel chiefs and in his fruitless struggle with Sher Shah. But for all his political pre-occupations he did not neglect his duty to promote learning and literature. In his boyhood considerable attention was paid to his education. He was skilled in rational and traditional learning and had a fondness for poetry. His main interest lay in the Mathematics, Astronomy or Geography and Science. He wrote a treatise on nature of the elements. He was the first to introduce the globe and the Astrolabe in the Pak-Hind, Sub-Continent. He invented a new type of Astrolabe, known as Astrolabe of Humayun.¹ He was busy building a peculiar type of observatory with ingeniously designed radiation rooms of various colours, which took their names from the various planets. He held his court on different days of the week in the room conforming to the day's planet.² But his preference for Astronomy and Science, did not make him a Scientist devoid of all aesthetic tastes. He took considerable interest in poetry and literature. He was endowed with rhythmic sensibility. In his spare hours he composed verses with Humayun as his pen-name. In the royal library of Akbar was preserved a copy of his "Diwan," (Treasury of Verses).³

Humayun was very studious. His habit of study was not confined to peace times; even during the wars he carried books with him. When he was forced to flee the Sub-Continent in a helpless and destitute condition, he managed to take with him a small collection of selected

1. Nadvi, p. 29.

2. Farishta, pp. 178—180.

3. Sufi, p. 51.

books and Lal Beg, his librarian, was in his retinue.¹ Like other Mughul kings, he maintained at his court a considerable number of men of sound scholarship, the most celebrated of whom were Khuda Mir, Jauhar, Abdul Latif and Sheikh Husain. During his reign were established colleges and schools in different cities to promote learning, the most well-known being the school at Delhi, built by Humayun. Sheikh Husain was on its staff. The time is also marked by the establishment of a college, built by Sheikh Ziauddin at Delhi. Within its compound the Sheikh rests in eternal sleep. Another school was established at Agra in his memory.²

The death of the learned king testifies to his zeal for knowledge and prayer, showing how sincerely devoted he had been to acquire and promote knowledge, his other pre-occupations notwithstanding. Even after his death, his mausoleum served as a school for centuries. No sightseer can surmise today that it had once been a great teaching institution, and men of great scholarship, erudition and prestige were on its staff. It was a residential institution. The students resided in the small side rooms.

In 963 A.H. (1556 A.D.) a boy of thirteen ascended the throne. For a few years the state affairs were managed by his regent Bairam Khan, and, later, for some time, by his foster-mother Maham-Anga. Thereafter Akbar took up the reins of the Government in his own hands and ruled independently with full sense of responsibility. Peace and order reigned throughout the empire. The tranquillity that prevailed accelerated the progress of education at an unprecedented pace.³

1. Jaffar, p. 78; Law, p. 128.

2. Jaffar, p. 133.

3. Akbar is said to be illiterate. Whether literate or
(Continued on page 83)

Akbar devoted most of his leisure to association with scholars, scientists and mystics. He listened to the religious and literary debates with zest. For this very purpose he ordered the construction of a building at Fatehpur Sikri, called the *Ibadat Khana*. It was meant to serve as a meeting place for the wise and the erudite, who held debates and discussions on religious, political and administrative matters and took decisions. Here were held free discussions and criticisms on different religions. In the beginning the Sunni Ulama held the field, but the mutual bickerings and dissensions between Makhdumul Mulk Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri and Sadrus Sudur Sheikh Abdul Nabi, alienated the sympathies of Akbar from both of them. Gradually Abul Fazl and Faizi exercised dominating influence over him. It was at this *Ibadat Khana* that the Din-i-Ilahi

(Continued from page 82)

was promulgated. Illiterate, few rulers of Hindustan can claim the contribution he made to the promotion of learning and arts through translation of books, developments of knowledge and sciences and monetary aid to the students and the teachers. Few learned kings could excel his literary taste, his zeal for knowledge and arts and his patronage of learning. Abul Fazl writes :

"Experienced men bring them (books) daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears each book from the beginning to the end. At whatever page the readers daily stop, His Majesty makes with his own pen a sign, and rewards the reader with presents of cash, either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves read out by them. Among the books of renown there are few that are not read in His Majesty's Assembly Hall; and there are no historical facts of past ages or curiosities of sciences, or interesting points of Philosophy, with which His Majesty is unacquainted. He does not get tired of hearing a book again, but listens to the reading of it with more interest. The Akhlaq-i-Nasiri, Qabus Nama, Gulistan, Bostan, Shah Nama, Kulliat-i-Khusro and Moulana Jami etc., are continually read out to His Majesty. (Aina-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 3),

originated and an attempt was made to discover the natural language of the mankind.

Akbar had a zeal for not only listening to the books read out to him, but to collect them, to have them translated from one language to the other and embellish them with pictures, paintings etc. In *Ain-i-Akbari* Abul Fazl says:—

“His Majesty's library is divided into several parts; some of the books are kept within and some without the Harem. Each part of the library is sub-divided according to the value and the estimation in which the sciences are held to which the books treat”.

Books in Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmiri and Arabic were divided into three sections:—

- (1) Poetry, Medicine, Astrology and Music.
- (2) Languages, Philosophy, Tasawoof, Astronomy, Euclid, and
- (3) Tafsir and Ahadith, Religion and Law.

The royal library was in charge of Faizi. For some time Mulla Pir Mohammad was also in-charge.

There was a separate department for translation. The philologists and linguists were employed in this department for translating Greek, Arabic and Persian books into the other languages and were constantly busy with the work. During Akbar's reign were translated into Persian *Mahabharat*, *Atharva Veda*, *Harbans Lilawati* (the best book on Arithmetic) and *Tajak* (a reliable book on Astrology) from Sanskrit, *Moajamaul Baldan* and *Hayatul Haywan* from Arabic and *Waq'at-i-Babari* from Turkish. *Zich Jadid Mirzai* was translated from Persian into Sanskrit, *Sanghasan Battisi* and *Kalila Damna* were also translated and entitled *Nawa-i Khirad*

Afza and *Ayar-i-Danish* respectively. Faizi translated *Nal Daman* into Persian adopting the metre of *Masnawi* of *Laila Majnun*. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* was also translated in his time. Over and above, many original works were written in his reign; the most well-known among them are *Tarikh-i-Alphi*, Abul Fazl's *Akbar Nama* and *Ain-i-Akbari*, Faizi's *Swataul-Ilham* (a Tafsir in which all letters used are dotless) and *Mawadul-Kalam*, Abdul Qadir Badaoni's *Al-Ahadith* and *Najat-ur-Rashid*. *Ain-i-Akbari* contains one chapter on education, method of teaching and curriculum. It is reproduced below :

“In every country, but specially in Hindustan, boys are kept for years at school, where they learn the consonants and the vowels, A great portion of the life of students is wasted ... His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the Alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to the memory some verses in the praise of God or moral sentences, each written separately. Care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought, for sometime, to practise daily in writing a hemistich or a verse, and will then soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought, specially, to look after five things :

Knowledge of the letters—meaning of words; the hemistich; the verse; the former lesson. If this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it takes others years to understand, so much so that the people will quite get astonished. Every boy ought to read books on morals; arithmetic,

the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy physiognomy, household matters, the rule of government, medicine, logic; the *tabai*, *riyazi* and *ilahi*, science and history all, which may be gradually acquired.

"The studying Sanskrit students ought to learn the *Biyakaran Niyai*, *Bedanta* and *Patanjali*. No one should be allowed to neglect these things which the present time requires. These remarks shed a new light in schools and cast a bright lustre over Madrasas".

On the basis of these rules we arrive at the following conclusions:

- (1) Akbar took great personal interest in educational matters. Possibly, Abul Fazl or any one else had a hand in the formation of these rules, yet Akbar's interest in educational matters is beyond question. The conclusion is re-inforced by the list of subjects mentioned, for they conform to Akbar's conception of education. Here the question arises: how far were these orders put into practice in *Maktabas* and schools? Historical records are of little help to answer the question. But we may be sure of the compliance with these orders to a certain extent at least in schools aided by government or by the nobles.
- (2) The first part of the *Ain* relates to the teaching of Persian and to elementary education. In it is discussed the method of teaching. The second part deals with the higher education. It discusses the curriculum. It is a proper method of approach to attend to the method of teaching in elementary stages and to the curriculum in higher stage.
- (3) The method of teaching directs the initiation of a child into writing at the very outset. The method

practised by the Hindus laid considerable emphasis on writing. It was probably the rapid progress of children in *patshalas* that made Akbar introduce this method in *maktabas*. The modern technique of education has proved the superiority of 'learning by doing' over oral instruction.

- (4) Emphasis on memorization in early life. The young children were required to memorize, under teacher's guidance, portions of a prose or poem in praise of God or containing wise sayings and precepts.
- (5) The teachers are advised to afford to the children the least help possible, and to discourage the children from relying on teacher's help while joining letters and spelling words. The real aim of education is to draw out the innate powers of the children and not to stuff their minds with information. To achieve this end, it is very essential that the students acquire the habit of thinking and doing by self-effort in order to dispense with other's help in practical life.
- (6) The '*Ain*' contains a list of the subjects which in Akbar's view were essential for higher education. A glance at the list gives us an inkling into Akbar's mental disposition. for he has laid emphasis on practical and scientific subjects more than on subjects of a theoretical nature. In contrast to this, we will find, when we discuss Aurangzeb's theory of education, that he lays greater emphasis on scholastic and literary subjects and regards them as an essential part of one's education.
- (7) Still greater emphasis has been laid on practical and scientific side of education by making obligatory on every student the acquisition of knowledge of

various branches of learning in conformity with his needs, and the education which does not take into consideration the needs of the time is, in fact, not worthy of the name.

- (8) The teaching of ethics has been given the highest place in higher education and for the children the memorization of pieces of prose and poetry containing praise of God, wise saying and precepts is emphasized.

The propagation of knowledge and art was close to Akbar's heart. He issued a royal decree to all the provinces enjoining "as far as possible the promotion and diffusion of learning and art in the world, so that the men of skill may not be wiped off the earth, and their memory may be perpetuated". He established schools in different places, the most famous of which was that at Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar's zeal in this regard created a similar urge among the nobles. Akbar's foster-mother, Maham Anga established a school, Khairul Manazil, at Delhi, Abul Fazl at Fatehpur Sikri. Hasan Khan in Kashmir and Khawaja Mughira at Delhi.

Besides the propagation of knowledge and widening the scope of rational learning, Akbar's reign is specially remarkable for development of fine arts. Poetry, Painting and Architecture made considerable progress. Akbar had a special liking for embellishing the books with illustration. Most of the books in Persian prose and poetry were decorated with paintings and embellishments and the pages containing interesting anecdotes and events were charmingly illustrated. A more detailed study of this topic will be made in the chapter entitled 'Fine Arts'.

Akbar, a lover of learning and literature as he was, gave special attention to the education and training of

his children. He entrusted their education to men of great erudition who discharged their duty very earnestly. When Prince Salim completed four years, four months and four days of his age, his *Bismillah* (school going) ceremony was celebrated as the tradition would have it. His education was entrusted to Faizi, the poet-laureate and Maulana Mir Kalan. Qutbuddin Khan Anga and Abdur Rahim Khan i Khanan were appointed as his tutors. The benevolent teaching by such eminent teachers and tutors bore fruit. He shone like a moon in the firmament of learning and eloquence. He learnt Turkish from Khan i Khanan and the Western learning and arts from the European missionary preachers. Similar arrangements were made for the education of Murad and Danyal. Faizi had the charge of Murad and Said Khan Chughtai of Danyal. Danyal was an eminent musician specially fond of Hindi. Occasionally he composed verses in Hindustani language using Hindustani idioms.

On Akbar's death, Salim ascended the throne under the title of Jahangir. About his upbringing and education we have already written. He loved fine arts, specially painting and drawing. Over and above, he was equally fond of learning and literature, philosophy and religion. He had a special devotion to history. He wrote his own memoirs. In this work he was aided by Muhammad Hadi and Mo'tamid Khan when completed, he ordered the calligrapher to make its copies which were distributed among the nobles and the princes. The very first copy was given to Shahjahan. He wrote several books in Persian, Pandnama being one of them. But his memoirs is his masterpiece. It is a characteristically unreserved and accurate account of events. Every word of it testifies to the frankness of the author. No other Persian prose-writer can equal the beauty, simplicity,

clarity and frankness of his description while maintaining literary elegance.¹

Jahangir was deeply interested in fine arts, especially in drawing, painting, music and sculpture. He had a fondness for poetry. When he came to the throne, the court was thronged with poets. But he, using his sense of discrimination, conferred on the young Talib Amli the office of the poet-Laureate. Talib Amli enjoyed honour and veneration throughout his life under the patronage of Jahangir. Mulla Hayati was also attached to his court. He enjoyed Jahangir's generosity till his last days. He was an exuberant poet. Moulana Shibli says of him: —

“Every ruler of the Mughul dynasty appreciated the value of poetry and its delicacies but Jahangir surpassed them all in this regard. He was by nature a passionate lover and was gifted with a compassionate heart. Love was the stuff he was made of. He had been a true disciple of Faizi, no one could surpass him in evaluating the true worth of poetic niceties.”

Over and above, a large number of poets were there at his court. Moulana Mirza Shukrullah Shirazi was an adept in Arabic and Persian, calligraphy as also in accounts. He was formerly with Khan-i-Khanan and later came over to Jahangir. Maulana Abdul Haque, though not attached to the court, was shown great consideration by Jahangir. He presented to Jahangir his book containing biographical sketches of the Mashaikh of Hindustan. Jahangir according to his own account bestowed on him, before his departure, lavish rewards and favours. The Sheikh was a great scholar and traditionalist (Muhaddith). He was the first to

1. Maqalat i Shibli, Vol. IV.

introduce the science of tradition in the Sub-Continent. The popularity of the sayings of the Prophet is entirely due to his untiring efforts. Among the men of repute at the court of Jahangir were included men of erudition like Mulla Roz Khan Shirazi, Mir Abul Qasim Gilani, Mulla Baqar Kashmiri, Mulla Maqsood Ali, Qazi Nur ullah, Mulla Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, Mulla Hasan Faraghi Gujrati, Khawaja Usman Hisari and Mulla Mohammad Jaunpuri; historians like Niamatullah and Naqib Khan and Mathematicians like Mirza Ghayas Beg. Mir Alauddaulah compiled Farhang-i-Jahangir in which meanings were supported by quotations of verses from poets of old. It is the distinguishing feature of Farhang-i-Jahangiri. Jadrup Gushain was a famous hermit (Sanyasi) of the age. He devoted himself to worshipping the True God, in a lone corner of the desert, far from the populated city of Ujjain. The place was not accessible to any type of conveyance. Jahangir visited him twice and treated him with extreme respect and veneration.

The most venerable personality of the time was that of Hazrat Mujaddid Alaf Sani. He was born at Sirhind on June 26, 1856 and named Sheikh Ahmed. He was educated by his father Sheikh Abdul Ahad, Maulana Kamat Kashmiri and Qazi Bahlol Badakhshani. At the age of 17 he commenced teaching the children. Later he shifted to Akbarabad and started teaching. At this period, the religious policy of Akbar had aroused feelings of hatred and opposition in the hearts of the public and the chief courtiers. No one, however, had the courage to give vent to his feelings publicly. Mujaddid Alaf Sani directed his untiring efforts to rivet, once again, by his preaching, the attention of some of the nobles on Islam and awakened the true Islamic spirit among the public by teaching and preaching. In the beginning Jahangir was offended by his activities and

placed him under arrest and restraint, but, later, overwhelmed by his education, personality and popularity had to give up his hostile attitude. The Sheikh died at Sirhind on the 28th of Safar 1034 A.H. (10th Dec. 1624) and lies buried there. However, the work begun by him continued and his teachings might have influenced Aurangzeb. It is generally held, though not confirmed by historical proof, that Aurangzeb became a disciple of the Sheikh's son, Mohammad Masum.¹

Jahangir was eager to promote popular education and had at heart the dissemination of knowledge among his subjects. In order to satisfy his desire for knowledge, on the one hand, he held assembly of scholars, saints, darveshes and hermits and carried books with him on journeys; on the other, he made regulations to accelerate the progress of learning. One of the regulations was that if a wealthy man or a rich traveller left no heir to his property, his wealth should be spent on construction of schools and khanqahs.² To what an extent this one regulation must have aided the dissemination of knowledge can easily be imagined. Moreover, he re-built all the schools that had fallen. He appointed teachers therein and thus the schools hummed into activity.³ Many new schools were also built. Muhammad Sanai, the governor of Gujrat, better known as Saif Khan, built a splendid and spectacular school building opposite the gate of the fort of Iraq in Ahmadabad. The school was designated as "Madrasat-ul-'Ulama".⁴ The Diwan of this governor established another school opposite his master's.⁵ A historian says that in the time of Jahangir,

1. Ab-i-Kausar by Ikram, p. 125.

2. Jaffar, p. 93.

3. Keay, p. 126.

4. Nadvi, p. 79;

5. Law, p. 175.

every town and village had a school established by men of learning through self-effort and the state had no direct concern with them. But handsome grant was made, if applied for.

Thus was maintained, rather accelerated, in the time of Jahangir the progress of learning, literature and art had made in the time of Akbar. It comes into clear relief by what Jahangir says of Agra is largely made up of artists, manufacturers and students. The 'Ulama of all castes and creeds lived in the city'.

Prince Khurram, though not his eldest son, Shahjahan, succeeded his father Jahangir, by dint of his ability, shrewdness and bravery and is known to the history as Shahjahan.

When Khurram was four years, four months and four days old, his *Bismillah* ceremony was celebrated and he was placed in charge of Mulla Qasim Beg Tabrezi, a mystic of repute, well-versed in rational sciences, especially Geography.

Later Qasim Beg was succeeded by Hakim Dadai Gilani as a tutor. Of all his teachers Shahjahan profited by his teaching the most and held him in great veneration and affection all his life. Sheikh Sufi and Abul Khair, brother of Abul Fazl, also taught him.

Shahjahan's court, was, like that of Akbar and Jahangir, a cradle of divines, scholars and poets. Men of erudition assembled at his court from all directions. There were, even among the courtiers, men of great learning, adept, on the one hand, in politics and administration and on the other, in the use of pen. Ali Mardan Khan, Saadullah Khan, Saeed Khan, Zafar Khan, Khanzad Khan, Mir Jumla, Afzal Khan and Raja Jai Singh...all wielded the sword and the pen with equal

facility. The noted jewels of his court, when deputed to provinces, lighted the torch of learning and literature there. There were others in thousands with facile pen; notable among them were Sheikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi, Maulana Hasan Dehlavi, Mull Shah Lahori, Syed Ahmad Qadri, Syed Jalal Gujrati, Moulana Abdus Salam Lahori, Syed Jamaluddin, and Khawaja Akhond Muhammad.

During Shahjahan's reign, with the development of Persian, Hindi language, also, took great strides towards progress. Shahjahan was fond of Hindi poetry and encouraged Hindi language. Sundar Das, Chintamani and Kondra Acharya were the famous poets of Hindi. On Sundar Das was first conferred the title of 'Kavi Raj' and, later on (Maha Kavi Raj).

Simultaneously with the two languages, a new language Urdu was being developed, who could surmise at the time that the new language still in embryo would gradually develop into a lingua franca of the Sub-Continent leaving behind both Persian and Hindi.

In this period, the fine arts, too, flourished considerably. Shahjahan was enamoured of music. No other Mughul Emperor surpassed him in his love for architecture. The magnificent Taj Mahal at Agra, the Jama Mosque and Red Fort at Delhi are the best known of his building. Besides several other buildings were raised by him for dissemination of learning and literature and for public welfare. To the north of Jama Mosque at Delhi stood the royal hospital built by him where the poor and the destitute were treated free of charge. To the south of the mosque was the building of the royal school; the staff therein was appointed by the Emperor himself. On its staff was Mir Shamsuddin, a teacher of repute. Shahjahan repaired the building of Madrassah Darul Baqa which had been in a dilapidated condition.

Arrangements for regular teaching were made and Maulana Sadruddin was appointed as its Superintendent.¹

Now, we would examine Bernier's statement to see if it applied to the conditions then prevailing in the Sub-Continent. As already mentioned, there were several schools at Agra and Delhi which enjoyed the status of a modern college. Over and above there were numerous schools at Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Jaunpur, Sirhind,

1. The European traveller, blinded by prejudice, make statements, which are not only grotesque, but detestably incorrect and baseless. Bernier, commenting on the educational condition in Shahjahan's time observes:—

"Can it excite our wonder that, under these circumstances, the arts do not flourish. A profound and universal ignorance is the natural consequence of such a state of society as I have endeavoured to describe. Is it impossible to introduce in Hindustan academies and colleges properly endowed? Where shall we seek for founders? or should they be found, where are the scholars? Where are the individuals whose property is sufficient to support their children at college? or if such individuals exist, who would venture to display so clear a proof of wealth? Lastly, if any person should be tempted to commit this great imprudence, yet where are the benefices, the employments, the offices of trust and dignity, that require ability and science and are calculated to excite the emulation and the hopes of the young student?"

A comment on Bernier's opinion is futile. Any one, with an ordinary knowledge of the History of Hindustan can easily discern behind these words the prejudice of the Catholic traveller. The time of Shahjahan is associated with the dearth of schools so great that there existed no school or other teaching institution here. What a strange comment! We have already seen that the kings of Delhi as well as Akbar and Jahangir did for the promotion of learning what no king of Europe could dream of in those days. In Europe the doors of education were closed on the public; the teaching in some,

Thanesar and Ambala. Pupils flocked to these schools from far and near to acquire knowledge since the time of Jahangir, Kashmir enjoyed the highest reputation in this regard. The natural sciences, the invigorating climate and the pleasant environments made this part of the Sub-Continent chief resort of the men of letters. Mulla Hasan and Mulla Mohsin Fani were Kashmiri, Khawaja Akhond Mohammad settled there permanently. Mulla Shah used to pay frequent visits to Kashmir. Kashmir became the centre of learning and literature in those times and did not suffer by comparison with other provinces.

Shahjahan took pride in Jaunpur and gave it the honourable lourefic of "the Shiraz of Hind". Under the kings of the dynasty of the East, learning and literature developed considerably. The dynasty had been extinct for a century and a half, when Shahjahan ascended the throne, yet the learned assemblage at Jaunpur continued to exist; and the development of learning and literature was not interrupted. Jaunpur of that period was, in fact, Shiraz. The Emperor issued orders to the governor of Jaunpur for payment of gratuities and stipends to the scholars and the students and the reporters were required to send reports on the condition of every school. When the emperor received the news of the establishment of a school deserving of monetary aid, he immediately sanctioned grants for the students. The nobles, the princes and the officials touring this part of the country broke their journey at Jaunpur, visited these schools and gave handsome donations from their own purse to gain the Emperor's Good-will.¹

Shahjahan took special care of the education and up-bringing of his sons and Jahan Ara, among his

1. Nadvi, p. 45.

daughters, were master-minds in the field of knowledge. Dara was a great scholar of Persian and Sanskrit and held eclectic views in matters of religion. He freely associated with sufis and vedantists. Like Akbar, he, too, had many Sanskrit books translated into Persian, such as Upanishads, Bhagvat Gita, Jog, Vasistha, etc. He was a great writer and translator. He is the author of several works some of which are Makalma-i-Baba Lal Das, Safinat-ul-Aulia, a hagiological account of the lives of Muslim saints, Sakinat-ul-Aulia, a biography of Mian Mir and his discipies, Nadir-un-Nikat, Hasanat-ul-Arafin Risala-i-Haq-Numa and Majma-ul-Baharain.¹

Aurangzeb was very intelligent and a lover of learning.² His shrewdness, intelligence and sharp intellect stood him in good stead and secured for him the dignity and prestige not destined for any other Mughul Emperor skilled in the use of pen. Certainly he did not share his grandfather's zeal for painting and poetry; or, his father's for history. Nor was he interested in music and architecture. On the one hand, he abolished the office of poet-laureate; and no building of note was built during his reign except the Pearl Mosque at Delhi and Shahi Masjid at Lahore. For all his austerity, however, he was an adept in fine arts. Occasionally, he composed verses and was skilled in the art of music. But, for the nation he regarded music to be a deadly poison. Consequently, he himself shunned it and tried to guard the nation against its evil effects. He, however, appreciated good poetry and took delight in the verses of Hafiz and Sa'adi. He also had a special liking for the verses of Naziri, Saib, Mulla Shah and Fani Kashmiri. Reserved sober of temperament, he did not like the poets' exaggeration pamperings and false-

Aurangzeb.

1. Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 159.

2. Sarkar, Vol. I, p. 5.

hoods. In so far as learning is concerned Aurangzeb was admittedly, the most erudite and practical among the Mughul Emperors. He outstripped all in erudition, studiousness and broad-mindedness. He was well versed in religious learning, Tafsir, Hadith and Muslim Law. The works of Imam Ghazali; Sharaf Yahya Muniri, Sheikh Zainuddin Muniri, Qutb Mohiuddin Shirazi and the like were always in his study. After his accession he committed to memory the whole of the Quran. He wrote a good hand in Nastaliq and Shakista styles of penmanship but he excelled in the Naskh style. He learnt this art from Syed Ali Khan Al-Husaini, Jawahar Raqam and Abdul Baqi. While yet a prince, he sent a copy of the Quran in his own writing, to Mecca. Another copy he sent to Medina after his accession. Its binding and decoration cost him 7,000 rupees. A third copy was donated to the shrine of Nizamuddin Aulia. He learnt the art of calligraphy not as a personal hobby but for meriting reward in the other world and earning his livelihood in this.

Aurangzeb, the ablest and the most learned of all the Mughul Emperors was naturally most interested in the education of the members of royal family, as well as the children, the nobles and common people. All his attention was centred on learning and religion. Berneir's account throws light not only on the education of the princes, but on his theory of popular education. We, therefore, consider it essential to quote below *in extenso*. We would not enter into an argument as to whether or not did Mulla Saleh ever instruct Aurangzeb. Berneir might have misquoted the name of the teacher. Nor can we ascertain the actual words of Aurangzeb and the extent to which Berneir has improved upon them. But, keeping in view his temperament, zeal and interest in educational matters, we can safely assume that the

speech in its substance is that of Aurangzeb. Mulla Saleh, his old tutor, came to the Emperor after his accession in expectation of reward. Aurangzeb, however, expostulated with him for the education he had been given in his boyhood. But this speech of Aurangzeb brings his theory of education into bold relief. To his teacher, Mulla Saleh, Aurangzeb said, "Pray what is your pleasure with me, Moollahghy, noble doctor? Do you pretend that I ought to exalt you to the first honours of the state? Let us then examine your title to any mark of distinction. I do not deny you could possess such a title if you had filled my young mind with suitable instruction. Show me a well-educated youth and I will say that it is doubtful who has the stronger claim upon his gratitude, his father or his tutor. But what was the knowledge I derived under your tuition? Was it not incumbent upon my preceptor to make me acquainted with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth; its resources and strength; its mode of warfare, its manners, religion, form of government and wherein its interests principally consist: and by a regular course of historical reading to render me familiar with the origin of states, their progress and decline; the events, accidents and errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions have been effected...A familiarity with the languages of surrounding nations may be indispensable in a king..." You forgot, "How many important subjects ought to be embraced in the education of a prince."

"Were you not aware that it is during the period of infancy, when the memory is commonly so retentive, that the mind may receive a thousand wise precepts and be easily furnished with such valuable instructions and render the individual capable of glorious deeds? Can we acquire knowledge of law and of the sciences only through the medium of Arabic? May not the solid

information communicated as easily as in our mother tongue? If you had taught me that philosophy which adapts the mind of reason, and will not suffer it to rest satisfied with anything short of the most solid arguments; if you had inculcated lessons which elevate the soul and fortify it against the assaults of fortune, tending to produce the enviable equanimity which is neither insolently elated by prosperity, nor basely depressed by adversity; accustomed me always to refer to first principles...if such, I say, had been the nature of philosophy imbibed under your tuition, I should be more indebted to you than Alexander was to Aristotle and should consider it my duty to bestow a very different reward on you than Aristotle received from that prince. Answer me, sycophant, ought you not to have instructed me on one point at least, so essential to be known by a king, namely, on the reciprocal duties of a sovereign and his subjects, and of subjects towards their sovereign? Ought you not also to have foreseen that I might, at some future period, be compelled to contend with my brothers, sword in hand for the crown and for my very existence? Such as you must well know has been the fate of the children of almost every king of Hindustan. Did you ever instruct me in the art of war, how to besiege a town, or to draw up an army in battle array? Happy for me that I consulted wiser heads than thine on these subjects! Go; withdraw to thy village".

Aurangzeb did his best to improve the educational system. He established scholastic institutions at various places, overhauled the management of existing schools and took various other steps to accelerate educational progress.¹ He expanded the facilities of Madad-i-Ma'ash. Aurangzeb awarded allowances for

1. Law, p. 188,

the professors in almost all the towns and cities; the 'Ulamas were granted pensions and lands and the scholars stipends and Madad-i-Ma'ash (subsistence grant). In the words of Mustaid Khan, the predecessors of Aurangzeb did not spend even a thousandth in charities and donations and on allowances to the scholars, darveshes and the destitute. Throughout the empire the mosques were built and the Imams, the Muezzins and the Khatibs were appointed by the government. Aurangzeb was the first Emperor of the Sub-Continent to make education compulsory and obligatory. He could not introduce this system throughout his empire, but education was made compulsory for the Bohra community in Gujrat on an experimental basis. He appointed teachers for them and ordered them to undergo monthly examinations, the results of which were to be reported to him personally; it enabled him to estimate the progress of the scholars. He sent a *Firman* to Mukramat Khan, the Diwan of Gujrat, enjoining on him the establishment of schools throughout his jurisdiction. Aurangzeb spread a net work of schools throughout the Sub-Continent. He rebuilt many old schools then in ruins, restored them to activity and established numerous new schools.¹ In regard to this fact that Mr. Keene writes:

"He founded throughout his empire numerous colleges and schools. The details of the numberless schools, founded in his reign will be a superfluity. Here we give an account of a few famous schools of Aurangzeb's time. The most celebrated scholastic institution of his time was Madrasah-i-Firangi Mahal which reached its zenith after Aurangzeb's death. Another school of repute established in his reign was the

1. Jaffar, pp. 160—101.

Madrassh of Abdur Rahim at Delhi. These schools will be dealt with more fully at a later stage. Sheikh Muhammad Ikramuddin built a school at a cost of 1,25,000 rupees. 'Alamgir made an endowment of the village Sondra in Pargana Saonli and the village Subhela in Pargana Kari, for its expenses and sanctioned two rupees per day for the indigent scholars.

The greatest literary achievement of Aurangzeb is *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*. The Emperor personally participated in its compilation. The completed portion was punctiliously read out to him word by word each day and he suggested appropriate corrections and amendments. This book on Islamic jurisprudence probably stands alone in the Pak-Hind Sub-Continent for the peculiarity that an emperor of 'Alamgir's eminence personally participated in its compilation. Its compilation and editing was entrusted to a committee of the 'Ulama, headed by Mulla Nizami. Other members of the committee, mentioned in historical records, were Qazi Muhammad Husain Jaunpuri, Syed 'Ali Akbar Sa'adullah, Mulla Hamid Jaunpuri and Muhammad Akram Lahori. Shah Ahdur Rahim was also one of its compilers. The work was completed at a cost of 1,25,000 rupees.

Aurangzeb's court was, like the courts of other Mughul Emperors, centre of gravity for men of letters and erudition.¹ The most eminent scholars of the time were Sheikh Ahmad (Mulla Jiwan) Qazi Mohibullah Bihari, Mulla Muhammad, Evaz, Bakhtawar Khan, Himmat Khan, Mir Yahya and Mulla Shifai. He was averse to fanciful verses and Sycophancy but appreciated verses of quality. At his court were many poets of

repute, the most notable of them being Mooswi Khan, Sheikh Nasir Ali Sirhindi, Niamat Khan A'ali, Aqil Khan Razi and Mulla Ashraf Mazindrani. But Aurangzeb did not raise any of them to the rank of Poet-Laureate. Probably he did not want to confer the title on any of them. Among his Hindu courtiers were included many notable Hindu litterateurs, poets and historians who enjoyed his benevolence and generosity. Wamaq Khattari, Rai Bindraban, Isdas, Bhimsen Kaistha, Sujan Khattari and Khushhal Chand all were in one way or the other connected with his court. The most celebrated Hindi poet (Kavi) of his court was Bhushan Kavi. Of the Muslim courtiers Roshan Zamir, Dana and Abdul Jalil Bilgrami were distinguished poets of Hindi. Keene writes, "the unrelenting Aurangzeb did not like the learning and arts of the Hindus. Yet the Hindu poets of Hindi were not totally deprived of the bounty and patronage of the court. A good many of them were attached to the court of Aurangzeb and his son Bahadur Shah. During this period numerous books were written on the learning and art of the Hindus. *Tohfat-ul-Hind* by Mirza Khan bin Fakhruddin Mohammad on Hindi rhetoric and prosody, *Nizam-i-Anjum* by Abu Saeed al-Husaini on astronomy and astrology and *Rag Darpan*, a translation of *Manik Sohil*, by Sheikh Faqirullah Hindi on music are well-known works of 'Alamgir's time. Lai Bihari's work *Matachhra* also belongs to this period.

1. History of Hindi Literature.

CHAPTER V

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION UNDER LATER MUGHULS

1. Political decay and its effect on education.
2. Bahadur Shah I (1707—1712).
3. Delhi College.
4. Madrasa-i-Firanghi Mahal.
5. Weak and incapable occupants of Delhi.
6. Muhammad Shah (1719—1748).
7. Shah Wali-ullah.
8. His memorable work for educational reforms.
9. Successors of Muhammad Shah.
10. Oudh.

Aurangzeb's death was followed by the whirlwind of anarchy and chaos, the ominous forebodings of which had appeared on political horizon in his life time in the rising of the Sikhs in the Punjab, the Rajput rebellions in Rajputana and the growth of the Maratha power in the Deccan. The strong personality of Aurangzeb, however, kept under a strict control the rebellious and the discontented. But no sooner had his eyes closed in death, than did these powers reassert themselves, and became a potent cause of the down-fall of the Mughul empire.

Political decay and its effect on education.

The political decay had set in, and its effect on every aspect of life was inevitable. The nobles were growing haughty and imperious; those who found their way to advancement blocked at the court, tried their fortune in the provinces. The literary atmosphere which

had prevailed upto the reign of Aurangzeb could last no longer. In the face of the wild storm of disintegration surging all around, it was not possible to keep the candle of knowledge burning. The light of knowledge though still glimmering dimly at the imperial court, now, in fact, had shifted to the courts of the independent provinces, that rose into prominence on the ruins on the once colossal Mughul kingdom. Aurangzeb's son and successor Bahadur Shah I, had received good education under the vigilant care of his unsparing father. He was specially devoted to the study of Hadith, Fiqah and Tafsir. Regarding his literary achievements the author of Ma'asir-e-'Alamgiri writes :—

“In his boyhood, he earned the blessing of committing to memory the holy Quran and mastered the science of Qir'at-o-Tajwid.¹ His Majesty passed his youth in the acquisition of knowledge. He was specially interested in the sacred science of tradition and being an adept in this science, he was known as ‘Sardar-i-Mohaddathin. Besides, he was fond of associating with scholars in daily assemblies.

Bahadur
Shah I
(1707-1712).

Although the zeal for literary advancement that throbbled the Mughul court from the time of Akbar to the death of Aurangzeb was no longer in evidence at the court of Bahadur Shah, yet scholars and nobles were still imbued with passionate love of learning and transmitting knowledge to others. Bahadur Shah's short reign of five years saw the establishment of several colleges of considerable importance by private efforts, supported by royal help.

Among the nobles, Nizam-ul-Mulk Ghaziuddin Khan, father of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk I founder of the

1. Art of reciting Quran correctly with proper pronunciation and correct orthography.

Hyderabad dominion built Delhi College outside Ajmeri Gate in Delhi, a school, a mosque and a mausoleum, within the precinct of the same building as was customary in those days. This school subsequently developed into the famous Anglo Arabic College, now known as Delhi College. In 1829 Nawab F'tima-ud-Daulah of Lucknow created a big endowment for this institution. Its most striking feature was that in the days of the East India Company it made Urdu the medium of instruction even in degree classes.¹

Madrasa-i-Firan
gi Mahal.

Another institution, which is even today an important seat of learning was established at this time under the name of Madrasa-i-Firangi Mahal² and soon acquired country-wide fame under the management and teaching of the great scholar Maulana Qutbuddin Sihlawi and his still greater son Mulla Nizam-ud-Din Sihlawi, whose reputation for scholarship and learning had spread far and wide and attracted students from every part of India. He had devoted his whole life to the teaching and writing books. His greatest achievement, which has made his memory immortal, has been the preparation of a curriculum of studies known as Dars-i-Nizami, which aims at bringing about a harmony in the two branches of mediaeval Islamic learning, Ma'qulat and Manqulat.

1. Mufti Intizamullah Shahabi Akbarabadi. (History of Freedom Movement, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 178-179). This college produced a galaxy of profound scholars of Oriental learning such as Maulana Mamluk 'Ali Nana'utvi, Imam Bakhsh Sehba'i, who suffered martyrdom in 1857. Later, the institution lost its distinctive character and since 1947 it has existed in name only.

2. The Firangi Mahal owed its origin to the patronage and love of learning of the Emperor Aurangzeb, who made over a building belonging to a Dutch at Lucknow. The Madraasa is called Firangi Mahal, as all Europeans were called in those days after the name of the Firangi or European.

the rational and traditional sciences respectively. The Dars-i-Nizami is still followed in all important Islamic educational centres and is considered fairly balanced and capable fulfilling the needs of the students seeking comprehensive knowledge of Islamic learning including Fiqah, Tafsir, Rhetorics, Dialetics etc. It, however, ignores the contributions of the great Muslim scientists of the middle age, who were studied with avidity in Western Countries specially during the period of the Renaissance.

Firangi Mahal produced a number of celebrated scholars, who carried the torch of learning in various parts of the Sub-Continent. Some of them set up their own Madrasas, to which students flocked from far and wide. To some extent they made up for depletion in educational institutions in Delhi and other big countries after the death of Aurangzeb. Mulla Hamdullah, a brilliant pupil of Mulla Nizamuddin established a Madrasa at Sandila which rose into great prominence.

Fakhrul Marahae of Kanauj was one of the most reputed schools of its time. Maulana Waliullah established another school at Farrukhabad and gave it the same name, its full name being Fakhru Maraabae Rabbul Mafakhir.¹

Rafi-ush-Shan, son of Bahadur Shah, was very intelligent, well versed in religious learning and Fiqah (Islamic Law), an excellent calligraphist and a lover of music. Bahadur Shah was, however, succeeded by his eldest son Jahandar Shah who had to vacate the throne next year for Farrukh Sayar, the son of his brother, 'Azim-ush-Shan. Farrukh Sayar ruled for a little over six years. During his reign, the nobles of the court,

Weak and
incapable
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1. Law, pp. 195-196, Jaffar, pp. 140-141.

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Weak and incapable occupants of Delhi throne.

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espeecially the all powerful Saiyyed brothers, reduced the emperor to the position of a puppet. Farrukh Sayar was totally devoid of learning and accomplishments, but at his court were assembled a number of men of literary ability, among whom 'Allama Syed Abdul Jalil Wasti Bilgrami was most celebrated. He was an accomplished scholar of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Sanskrit and Bhasha (Hindi), and enjoyed universal celebrity for his piety, saintliness, high moral virtues and literary accomplishments

After Farrukh Sayar, the Sayyed Brothers seated Muhammad Shah son of Akhtar Jahan, on the throne in 1131 A.H. (1719 A.D.) At this period general anarchy prevailed throughout the empire. The Emperor was surrounded by men who had no interest in learning and literature. Consequently Persian was being replaced by Hindustani at the court. The king himself was considerably devoted to it. At this time Urdu language was winning the hearts of the people, who were gradually giving up the use of Persian. In the third year of Muhammad Shah's accession, Wali, the famous Urdu poet, came to Delhi with his '*Diwan*'. Till then, Urdu was no more than a dialect. It had no literature of its own; nor writers, nor poets. On Wali's arrival at Delhi, his poetry became the talk of the day. His *Diwan* was received with due respect and eagerness by the lovers of poetry, who read it and enjoyed it. Thus the uprooting of Persian language in the time of Muhammad Shah heralded in a language which was destined to advance and attain the stature of lingua franca of a big portion of the Sub-Continent and ultimately ensure for itself a place in the first row of the well-developed languages of the world.¹

1. Ab-i-Hayat, p. 84.

The reign of Muhammad Shah is particularly famous for encouragement to the study of science specially science of Astronomy to which Raja Jai Singh, of Jaipur, the governor of Agra and Malwa, who besides being a successful military commander and distinguished ruler, was the patron of letters and arts, made significant contribution. He was well versed in Arabic learning and sciences and took a deep interest in astronomy. He compiled a book, *Zich Muhammad Shahi* and presented it to the king. On orders from the king the construction of a new observatory at Delhi was commenced in 1137 A.H. (1725 A.D.). Mirza Khairullah, the mathematician astronomer, was appointed its superintendent. The Raja, in order to check and ensure the accuracy of the data collected at this observatory, built similar observatories at Jaipur, Mathura, Banares and Ujjain, Hindu, Muslim and European astronomers carried on their observations for seven years. Their researches and observations formed the basis on which *Zich Muhammad Shahi* astronomical tables of Muhammad Shah, was compiled. It comprises three treatises. In this regard the Raja made further valuable contribution by having authentic Arabic books on astronomy translated into Hindi at a cost of thousands of rupees.¹

Muhammad
Shah
(1719-1748).

Muhammad Shah's name will also be remembered for ever in connection with the help he gave to Shah Waliullah in his efforts to develop and expand the well-known institution Madrasa-i-Rahimia founded by his father Shah Abdur Rahim in the time of Aurangzeb. The emperor Muhammad Shah came forward with the gift of a spacious building in Delhi for accommodating the institution. Shah Waliullah, before taking charge of the Madrasa and concentrating his energy upon its development had spent several years at Hijaz to study Hadith.

Shah
Waliullah.

1. Fanshawa.

He particularly examined the syllabus followed in the Madrasas in Hijaz and formulated his views on how to recast or amend the system of teaching in his own country.

On his return to Delhi, he set himself to the task of reforming the educational system. He was anxious to introduce reforms in his father's Madrasa, of which he had taken full charge. He introduced the system of dividing students studying in higher stage into different groups for the purpose of specialising in different subjects of studies of their choice. The teachers were encouraged to carry on investigation and research in special studies and help their pupils pursue specialisation with the help and guidance of their teachers. This was a difficult task and only a man of the intellectual eminence and versatility of Shah Waliullah could attempt it with success. His example as well as his writings evoked a new spirit and revivalist zeal among his sons, disciples and those who came in contact with him. He led special emphasis on the study of Hadith which greatly influenced the conduct and life of the rising generations of the Muslim nation. The spirit of revivalism, which took its birth in the time of Shah Waliullah was nourished by his brilliant son and disciples is a glowing tribute to the immortal work of intellectual renaissance and national resurgence of the great reformer, revivalist and sage, as he was.

The future events and decisive changes in the destiny of the nation proved clearly how significant and epoch-making the work of re-orienting the system of Muslim education and reforming the syllabus of studies had been. His brilliant sons and pupils carried on the work after his death and spread the light of new awakening among the Muslims far and wide. It was this achievement and the revitalising effect of his mission which alone helped the *Millat* to stand firm and survive

His memorable work for educational reforms.

the shocks and upheavals that occurred in India during the period from 1739 to 1857. Even the slow poison of Westernism administered by foreign rulers for about two centuries could not prevent the Muslims from holding their own and reasserting themselves powerfully when the critical moment in their national history came.

The successors of Muhammad Shah on the throne, were mere figureheads. Nothing worth mention was undertaken by them or through their influence or example for revival of traditional learning or introduction of new branches of knowledge with which the country was getting familiar through European settlers. The provincial governors of Bengal, Hyderabad, Oudh and other places had established independent states, which only nominally owed allegiance to the king at Delhi. The Maratha onrush threatened to bring the whole Sub-Continent under their flag. The Sikhs and the Jats were also gaining strength. These powers had been at work since the reign of Muhammad Shah, who had not the courage to oppose them. The invasion by Nadir Shah swept off the last hope and sounded the death-knell of the Mughul greatness. But in the reign of Alamgir II the youthful courage and shrewdness of prince A'ala Ghar who ascended the throne with the title of Shah 'Alam once more revived the hopes.

Successors of Muhammad Shah.

Shah Alam, a patron of poets, was a poet himself. He was a skillful composer of verses. Aftab was his pen name.

Shah Alam was succeeded by his son Akbar Shah II and, he, on his death, by Bahadur Shah II. During the reign of Akbar Shah, the candle of knowledge, like that of political power had been extinguished. His authority was confined within his palace; even Delhi city was beyond his political control. On the accession of Bahadur Shah, the poetical activities were revived. But it was its

final glow; the oil had been consumed. Once more did it burst forth in full light and extinguished, plunging for sometime the whole atmosphere into darkness.

During the period of political decline, Delhi, the centre of learning and literature had no doubt, lost its former glow; but it was replaced by several centres in the provinces. Besides several families reputed for learning and scholarship, kept the torch of knowledge burning in private capacity. We will first deal briefly with the provinces and later describe the efforts of the 'Ulama, which really contributed to the preservation of knowledge in the face of royal and aristocratic indifference and political uncertainty.

Oudh.

The Nawabs of Oudh who rose to political prominence since the time of Muhammad Shah were generally fond of learning and erudition and patronized scholars and poets, belonging to the party of the Persians, particularly. The Sunni 'Ulama did not receive their due meed of appreciation and honours from them; nor did their schools receive grants according to their merits and need. During the time of the first two Nawabs Burhan-ul-Mulk Saadat Khan, and his nephew and successor, Safdar Jang not only no encouragement was given to the teachers and schools of Oudh and Jaunpur, the free-grant lands to educational institutions in these regions were confiscated so that the literary and educational activities there, all of a sudden, shrivelled up.

After Safdar Jang, his son, Shuja-ud-Doula became the Nawab Wazir. He brought general destruction in Rohilkhand during the bloody drama enacted in collaboration with Warren Hastings and thousands of the 'Ulama and hundreds of educational institutions were swept off the stage. These institutions were established by Hafizul Mulk throughout his territories. But in Oudh

itself, Shuja-ud-Doula patronised the 'Ulama and the poets.

He was ever intent on attracting the 'Ulama to his court. As the political conditions elsewhere were not conducive to a life of peace and comfort, the poets from far and near drew to his court and were honoured. The capital was still at Faizabad and the court had not attained the splendour, it did in the time of Asaf-ud-Doula at Lucknow. When political power waned, the noblemen took to versification. What a paradox! So long as the Oudh court was politically powerful, the Nawabs could spare no time for lovesongs; but when under the tutelage of the British, they enjoyed a life of ease and no work, they occupied themselves with the art of versification, and, later, with such absurd innovations as brought Lucknow and Oudh to the verge of anarchy and its evil effects were felt all over the northern India.

Shuja-ud-Doula was succeeded by Asaf-ud-Doula as Nawab Wazir of Oudh in 1189 A.H. (1775 A.D.). His reign is famous for the development of poetry and architecture. Among his court poets were Sauda, Mir, and Mir Saiz who enjoyed great reputation. Sauda, who offended by Shuja-ud-Doula's ill treatment, had ceased attending the court, resumed attendance. He received an annual gratuity of Rs. 6,000/- in addition to rewards and prizes on various occasions. As the luck would have it, Mir Taqi Mir, too, had to move to Lucknow towards the end of 1194 A.H. (1780 A.D.). On knowing of his arrival Asaf-ud-Doula allowed him a monthly gratuity of Rs. 200/- but his sensitive nature made him leave off the court attendance and, for all his poverty, he led a life of contentment. There were many other poets of note at his court. Asaf-ud-Doula, besides having a fascination for poetry, was a poet himself. He referred his verses to Mir Saiz for improvement. The atmosphere

at the court was congenial to literature and the Nawab, the nobles and the gentry appreciated the verse and valued the poets. Poetry resounded throughout Lucknow and was the talk of the day. The high and the low were equally intoxicated with it to the exclusion of anything else. There were, however, some souls devoted to scholarship and erudition. We will describe at some length, in the succeeding pages, how the divines devoted their lives to the propagation of learning and religion.

Wazir 'Ali came next to Asaf-ud-Doulah. He had the convictions of the group of Tippoo Sultan, Siraj-ud-Doulah, Mir Qasim and Prince 'Ali Gauhar. How could a man, not ready to play the puppet in the hands of the English, continue on the throne? A host of allegations were brought against him, culminating in his dethronement within five months of accession. Wazir 'Ali, however, is credited with having attended to the re-formation and re-organisation of his army during the short span of his five month reign. It was the first step to regain the lost freedom. Within his iron-strong body he had the heart of a poet. After long wanderings and betrayed by the Raja of Jaipur he was arrested and imprisoned in the Calcutta fort. He gave expression to his piteous condition in the prison in the form of verses. Prior to him Shah 'Alam, and after him Wajid 'Ali Shah and Bahadur Shah also versified their woeful condition for the public. The outstanding difference, however, is that Wazir 'Ali compelled by the vicissitudes of the time made full use of the sword before resorting to pen, while the others did not dare even touch the sword. They knew no more of warfare tactics than moving the pawns on the chess-board.

Sadat 'Ali, a step brother of Asaf-ud-Doulah, succeeded Wazir 'Ali as the Nawab of Oudh. In his time poetry lost its hold on the mind of the people which

it had acquired in the time of Asaf-ud-Doulah, yet there was still enough of it. Of the old poets, Mir alone survived. Mushafi, Jurat and Insha were in ascendance. Confusion and chaos prevailed. "The mock fight of Mushafi" had left no time for attending to the intricate political problems. The conditions had worsened to an extent which none but Wazir 'Ali could probably improve. Sadat was incapable of the task. But so far as the development of poetry was concerned, the Oudh court was well known far and near. Mir, who offended at Asaf-ud-Doulah's treatment, had given up attendance at the court, began attending it off and on. Insha and Sadat had intimate relations, as soul with the body, for some time. Other poets too received gifts and rewards at the royal court.

CHAPTER VI

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

1. Salima Sultana. 2. Gulbadan Bano Begum.
3. Chand Babi Sultana. 4. Maham Anka. 5. Nur Jahan.
6. Mumtaz Mahal. 7. Jaban Ara Begum.
8. Sitiun Nisa Begum. 9. Zebun Nisa Begum.

In Islam education is obligatory on every individual, men and women alike. We meet, since the earliest days of Islam, with women who were universally known for their learning and accomplishments. Women's education was never ignored in the Pak-Hind Sub-Continent. It would be wrong to apply modern standard of education particularly in commenting on women's education in the past, especially in Europe which today claims to be most civilised and cultured. Seen in his retrospect, it would become manifest that this Sub-Continent did not suffer by comparison with other territories of the past.

Small girls did not observe 'Pardah' (seclusion). They, therefore, sat with boys in elementary schools. Their education mainly consisted reading the Quran and learning the three R's. A few women started *maktabs* at their homes which were attended by the girls desirous of learning to read the Quran with rudimentary instruction in reading and writing. Sewing, cooking and other household affairs were also attended to. In these *maktabs* instruction was imparted on monitorial

system. The number of girls was usually too large for one mistress. The girls in advanced stages of instruction were therefore allotted the work of imparting lessons to the younger girls. They, thus, acquired practical experience of teaching and, on leaving the *maktab*, started their own elementary institutions. Free education was a noteworthy feature of these institutions. Mostly the poor and the middle class girls attended them, though instances were not wanting in which even girls from rich family attended. Most of the widows adopted teaching as their life profession. They taught the girls at their residence to earn their living. There were certain schools and *maktabs* meant exclusively for girls with male teachers on the staff. Before a girl was sent to school relations and friends were invited. The *Bismillah* ceremony (ceremony for starting learning) was performed in case of girls as also, in case of boys. The teacher wrote some felicitous verses on a gilded paper, usually red, and made her read it aloud in the presence of friends and relations. On this occasion the teacher was given something, in kind or cash, or in both, by the parents as suited to their status and means. When a new book was taken up, the parents invited teacher to their home and presented him with gifts and awards. Similarly, on completion of the teaching of the Quran, the teacher was presented with gifts. The class mates of the girls received sweet-meats and the rest of the day was given off.¹ It may be borne in mind that the gifts and presents to the teacher did not constitute his fees or remuneration.

Beside the small *maktabs* in which instruction was imparted by masters or mistresses, we come across certain big schools for girls in the annals of the Pak-Hind

1. S. M. Jaffar, p. 191.

Sub-Continent. Ibn-e-Batuta found thirteen schools for girls at Hanauer. Of the women of the place he writes that they were very graceful and chaste and many of them knew the Quran by heart.¹ Mention has already been made of Sultan Ghayasuddin and his solicitation for the welfare and progress of the fair sex among women within the precincts of his haram are mentioned women teachers, which goes to show that Women's education was fairly wide-spread in his time and that women were employed for teaching the girls.² In the time of Akbar the daughters of the Imperial house were given regular tuition, for which purpose certain rooms in the palace at Fatehpur Sikri were specially set apart by Akbar. On the authority of Mr. Smith, Mr. Law in his book has marked out the school house in the plan of the Royal palace. That a historian of Mr. Smith's eminence has accepted the existence of a school site within the palace is an evidence of the fact that Akbar had made regular arrangement for the education of the ladies of the haram. The education was not confined to the daughters of the rulers or of the rich nobles; it was general and popular. During the Muslim period, Persian was the language of the people, but the medium of instruction for higher learning was Arabic. Higher education was dominated by Arabic literature and instruction in other branches of learning as philosophy, astronomy, medicine and mathematics etc., was imparted through Arabic. In the case of women, literary studies were considered more important than higher or religious education. Persian, was therefore, more useful for them than Arabic.

The Mughul Emperors usually appointed Persian ladies as tutoresses for their girls. In their education,

1. Ibn Batuta, p. 330.

2. Farishta, Vol. IV, p. 236.

study of literature, poetry, history and the like was more pronounced than the higher education in religion. Most of the princesses knew the Quran by heart, and were well-versed in Persian literature. The nobles, too, engaged tutoresses for their daughters. They either resided with the noblemen's families or went to their residence daily to teach the girls. It has to be admitted, however, that arrangements for girl's education were neither so elaborate nor so regular as in the case of boys.

Now we will deal with the literary accomplishments of some of the women of the time, which will enable us to estimate the progress of popular education among women. The instances can be multiplied but we do not propose to treat of them in details; we will, therefore, confine ourselves to a few of them.

Salima Sultana was the daughter of Gul Rukh Begum the sister of Humayun. She was betrothed to Beram Khan by Humayun, but the marriage was consummated in the reign of Akbar. After the death of Beram Khan shortly after, she entered the haram of Akbar as his wife. She was elegant in expression, sweet of speech, quick-witted at repartes, decorous and shrewd. Her sagacity, foresight and pointed speech solved complicated matters of the family and the state. She was erudite and studious. She appreciated poetry and had critical judgment. She composed verses and patronized the poets. Probably she also used Makhli as her pen-name.

Salima
Sultana

Gulbadan Bano, daughter of Emperor Babur, was only eight years old when her father died. Akbar, on his accession to the throne, requested her to pen an account of Humayun's life. The resultant biography, Humayun Nama, by Gulbadan Begum, is a monumental work "unrivalled even by Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri and Waqa'at-

Gulbadan
Bano Begum

i-*‘Alamgiri* (biographies of Jahangir and *‘Alamgir*). Brevity of its sentences, simple and plain words, popular phraseology and spontaneous expressions make the readers heart throb for joy.¹ In *Humayun Nama*, while on the one hand, have been discussed wars, demands of political exigencies and public affairs; much light has, on the other hand, been thrown on culture, social customs and position of women in the society of those days. “Besides being literate, women were adept in military arts, mounted the horse, while travelling, hunting or holidaying, some of them occasionally dressed in male attire. Women were skilful musicians and sang at their family gatherings, not attended by any stranger. They were consulted in public affairs and men deemed it necessary to associate them with all matters of interest.

Chand Bibi
Sultana.

The celebrated queen of Ahmadnagar, Chand Bibi Sultana was the daughter of Husain Nizam Sbah, ruler of Ahmadnagar. She was married to ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah, ruler of Bijapur. In the annals of the Deccan, she is known as “*Nadiratuzzaman*” for her political acumen and bravery. She was an intrepid soldier, able commander and the topranking administrator. She was learned and fanatically devoted to music. Throughout her kingdom no one could excel her in playing on “*Duff*” or in singing. She was fond of drawing and floral painting was her hobby. She was versed in several languages and could speak Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Marathi very fluently.

Maham
Anka.

She was the mother of Adham Khan and the foster-mother of Emperor Akbar. That, after the downfall of Bairam Khan, for two years she managed the affairs of the government testifies to her capabilities. Had she not been unduly partial to her son, Adham Khan she would

¹ Jaffar, p. 193.

have made a much greater name in the history of the Mughul Emperors. She was specially interested in the promotion of learning. She established Madrasah Khair-Manazil near Delhi. This splendid and spacious school building stands to the left on the Delhi Nizamuddin Road, opposite the western gate of the old fort. The mosque and the school building are now almost in ruins but for a few side rooms which were built on three sides of the mosque. On the northern and southern side of the courtyard of the mosque there were ten double-storey rooms in each row. Similarly there were rooms on either side of the main gate. Probably the rooms were used as lodgings for the students. Most of them are now in ruins, a few being still existant. Being a promoter of learning, she was lettered herself.

Nur Jahan.

Her original name was Mehrun Nisa. After her marriage with Jahangir, she received the title of Nur Jahan, but was later distinguished by that of Nur Jahan. No need be said of her administrative ability and beauty. Besides her external beauty, she was an embodiment of wisdom and pithy and witty sayings poured from her lips, like the chatter of a night-ingale. At repartee she was quick witted; composed verses with Nur as her name, which just suited her qualities. Her verses were elegant and witty, most appropriate to the occasion and company. She patronized the poets and appreciated good poetry. She was most learned and had complete mastery of Arabic and Persian. Her literary attainments, quantity and shrewdness stand unrivalled. In extempore oration she ranked with the master-poets of age-long experience. Nature had endowed her with singular memory, learning, wisdom, talents, rhythmic sensibility and poetic temperament; likewise she was gifted with the qualities of ingenuity and invention. “The civilization and culture will ever remain indebted to Nur Jahan

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for her ingenious innovations in women's dress, ornaments and cosmetics.

Formerly, the ornaments were crude and unshapely; the pattern of dresses lacked elegance. The dresses of ladies of Delhi and Lucknow in their various forms and fashions are relics of Nur Jahan's time with slight variations made in the mean time. Jahanir used to say "that before Nur Jahan's entry into his *harem* he was not aware of what the adornment and decoration of a house consisted in".¹ *Rose attar* and *Badla* (a variety of gold-thread cloth) were first conceived by her ingenuity.

Mumtaz
Mahal.

Arjumand Bano Begum, later known as Mumtaz Mahal, was the dearly loved queen of Shahjahan. She was virtuous, good tempered and very learned. She did not participate in the affairs of the government or politics as Nur Jahan did, yet, in respect of education accomplishments and love of poetry, she was in no way inferior to Nur Jahan. She was admittedly competent in Persian and had a penetrating insight into poetry. Occasionally she herself composed verses. Mumtaz Mahal was specially concerned with providing monetary assistance to girls of indigenous parents and to men of learning and piety. Siti-un-Nisa acted as the manager of her house-hold on whose recommendation the monetary assistance was disbursed to the poor girls and gifts awarded.

Jahan Ara
Begum.

The two princesses of the Mughul dynasty, Jahan Ara and Zeb-un-Nisa shone like the moon and the sun in the Indian firmament. Luckily, Jahan Ara's tutoress was the choicest one of the age. The honour went to Sadr-un-Nisa Khanum, better known as Siti-un-Nisa Begum the old and faithful attendant of Jahan Ara's

1. Maqalat-i-Shibli, Vol. VI, p. 213.

mother. Jahan Ara benefited from her treasure of knowledge for a long time. She first finished the Quran under Siti-un-Nisa's instruction. Later, she acquired knowledge of Qira'at (recitation of the Quran with due regard to pronunciation from the appropriate organs) and mastery over Persian prose and poetry. Jahan Ara had picked up from other branches of learning also. She had a love for study and devoted considerable time of the day to reading. She was interested in history, elocution and association with men of learning had special fascination for her. She was fond of writing and compiling books. Her title, *Munis-ul-Arwah* is a well-known work on the life of Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti in whom she had the greatest faith. She has also very ably penned down the life-sketches of Chishti's celebrated disciples, Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagori, Sheikh Fariduddin Ganj Shakar, Sheikh Nizamuddin Badauni, Nasiruddin Mahmood and others. The book was compiled by her in 1049 A.H. (1639 A.D.) when she was twenty six. She was well-versed in Arabic and was a great stylist. The topical arrangement of the book simplicity of its prose, selection and setting of appropriate words—all go to show her mastery over the domain of elegant language. She was not only a writer of prose; but a master-poet. Her verses in Persian are couched in language at once elegant and simple, free from awkward expression and abound in moral and religious sentiments. Jahan Ara was always enamoured of good poetry. In *Munis-ul-Arwah* she cites verses every now and then. On her father's death she composed a first-rate elegy spontaneously.

In regard to generosity and benevolence, Jahan Ara stepped in the shoes of her ancestors. Men with piety and accomplishments had a special claim on her riches. She spent handsome amounts in rewarding the poets. Haji Mohammad Khan composed and presented to her

a Qasida in the richest language on the occasion of her first bath after recovery from her illness. As an appreciation for one couplet of the Qasida, he was given a reward of five thousand rupees. Mir Saidi Tehrani received 500 rupees for one couplet composed extempore. Such rewards were not an uncommon feature.

Jahan Ara built a number of edifices, the more notable being Jama-Masjid at Agra, Begumi Dalan at Ajmer, Karavan-sarai at Delhi and Mulla Budakhshi mosque in Kashmir. She was fond of gardens. The famous garden at Agra was in her charge. She also looked after the Safapur garden and Sahibabad garden.¹

Jahan Ara was generous, hospitable, forbearing, of refined taste and sensitive; but averse to unnecessary pomp and show. She was particular about simplicity in living and wearing. She had a say in political matters. She was gifted with sound judgment, high spirits and broadmindedness. Shahjahan valued her opinion most. After Mumtaz Mahal's demise, she held the highest position in the royal household and her superior talents stood her in good stead in discharging the duties of her high rank admirably well.

Other daughters of Shahjahan were also very able and proficient in Persian and Turkish. Roshan Begum wrote an excellent hand. She was tutoress to other daughters of Aurangzeb. Her selection for this office by Aurangzeb, is indicative of her capabilities and talents. Zubeda Begum was a well known poetess and composed verses on mysticism. The Chau Burji Darwaza at Lahore is the gate of the garden in which this scholar princess carried on her literary activities. Most of her poems were composed in this garden.

1, Jahan Ara by Mahboobuddin Kalim.

Her original name was Sadrun Nisa Khanum but was usually known as Siti-un-Nisa. She occupied a managerial position with Mumtaz Mahal who was guided by her advice in awarding monetary aid to poor girls. She was made tutoress of Jahan Ara. It has to be admitted that each of them improved the other's literary taste. To have a tutoress like Siti-un-Nisa was a blessing; but a greater blessing was to have a pupil like Jahan Ara. Siti-un-Nisa belonged to a family of scholars. She was a sister of Talib Amili, the famous Persian poet. Her husband Nasira was a brother of Rukna Kashi, the famous poet at the court of Shah Abbas, king of Persia. She was a scholar of rare merit. She stood unrivalled for her knowledge of languages, critical appraisal of literature and skill in the science of medicine. She had a mastery of Persian literature and was an elegant poet.¹

Siti-un-Nisa
Begum.

Zeb-un-Nisa was the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb. When grown up, she was given under Hafiz Maryam for instruction. According to Muslim custom, her education started with the learning of the Quran. When she had learnt the Quran by heart, the princess was rewarded with 3,000 gold mohurs. She acquired mastery over Arabic learning and Persian literature. She wrote an exquisite hand in Nastaliq, Naskh and Shakista styles of penmanship; was devoted to versification and loved poetry. She adopted 'Makhfi' as her pen-name. Her verses were full of delicacy and elegance. She was unequalled in repartee and extempor versification. That the poetical work, today known as Diwan-i-Makhfi, is the product of her poetic talents is not certain. Maulana Shibli holds it a mistake to ascribe to her the adoption of 'Makhfi' as her pen name and the authorship of the

Zeb-un-Nisa
Begum.

1. Law, p. 204.

work known as 'Diwan-i-Makhfi' today. Ghulam 'Ali Azad has concurred in this view. Jad Nath Sarkar, on the basis of his researches confirms the adoption of 'Makhfi' as her pen-name but he is doubtful about the authorship of the Diwan-i-Makhfi as this pen-name was adopted by other inmates of the harem as well. Zebun Nisa patronized the poet whom she rewarded when, on ceremonial occasions, they composed Qasidas and poems for presenting to her. Great scholars and doctors of law were associated with her, but Mulla Saeed Ashraf Mazandrani was the nearest and the dearest of all her teachers. He was appointed her tutor, while she was twentyone years old and instructed her for thirteen or fourteen years. Zebun Nisa's court was virtually an academy. Scholars and doctors of every branch of science were at her court, busy with writing and compiling books. Most of these books were dedicated to her and the prefix Zeb formed part of the title. This peculiarity has misled certain biographers who have ascribed to her the authorship of all the books with the prefix Zeb. Among the translations, the most noteworthy is Zeb-ul-Tafsir, translation of Tafsir-i-Akbar, made by Mulla Safiuddin. Attached to her academy was a big library for the use of the scholars.¹ The author of Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri states that a like of this library has nowhere been seen. Mulla Muhammad Shah was its librarian.

Maulana Shibli's remark that "Aurangzeb's descendants were nilwits" applies to his sons. It does not apply to his daughters; nor was it said about them. "For the education and up-bringing of the princesses careful arrangements were made. All princesses were fully instructed in religious doctrines and injunctions.

1. Jaffar, p. 197.

They were seekers after the truth and passed their days in reciting and copying the Quran and in charitable works. All the princesses liked to be generous and benevolent and the needy were enriched by their rewards and present.¹

Zinat-un-Nisa Begum, the second daughter of Aurangzeb, was well familiar with the religious doctrines and injunctions and requirements of Islamic Law. The third daughter Suraiyeh Badrun Nisa Begum knew the Quran by heart and well grounded in religious learning and practise it.

In addition to the few instances quoted above, we come across, in the historical records, women who were unequalled in the realm of letters. Bibi Hafiza Jamal, the daughter of Hazrat Moinuddin Chishti, was deeply learned. She shared her father's zeal for preaching Islam and acted as his assistant. The women of those days played a considerable part in propagating Islamic faith. Jana Begum, the only daughter of Khan-i-Khana had inherited her father's zeal for knowledge and literature. She was rewarded by Akbar 5,000 dinars for writing a commentary on the Quran. Sahib Bi, the daughter of Ali Mardan Khan and wife of Amir Khan, was also a woman of great ability. Amir Khan was the governor of Afghanistan in the reign of Aurangzeb. He died in 1110 A.H. (1698 A.D.) after twenty years of governance, Sahib Bi held the reins of administration and managed the state affairs admirably well for 2 years prior to the appointment of the new governor. During the period of her administration, perfect calm prevailed.

The period of political decay, too, is marked for the presence of women famous for their love for learning

1. Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri by Baqi.

and literature. Most notable among them was Noor-un-Nisa, queen of the famous Shah 'Alam I. Qadsia Begum mother of Muhammad Shah was talented and far sighted. She took active part in the affairs of the empire and was once a partisan of the Syed Brothers. She received a gratuity of Rs. 15,000 from the Imperial treasury. In the time of 'Alamgir II, Mah Laqa Chanda, the first Urdu poetess of note, was a reputed lady of the Deccan. She was enriched with wealth both material and literary. She was well-adept in riding and archery. She rode on horse back, dressed as male, sword hanging by her belt. There was in the time of Akbar Shah II a poetess Jafri, eminent for her piety and virtue.

When, after the fall of Delhi, Lucknow became the gravital centre of knowledge and literature, the art of versification received as great an impetus among women as among men. In the time of Asif-ud-Dowla Parsa daughter of his relative, Nawab Mirza Mohammad Taqi, was a poetess of repute. Dulhan Begum, wife of Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah was also a poetess. Her pen-name was Dulhan. Nawab Begum Hijab, sister of Nawab Wajid 'Ali Shah was another poetess of repute. She compiled her Diwan which has been published. There have been other poetesses in the reign of Wajid 'Ali Shah, of whom Sadra Begum are fairly well-known. Haidri Begum alias Mah Tal'at, queen of Wajid 'Ali Shah also composed verses with Qamar as her pen-name.

The queens of kings of Hindustan were instructed in military art as well. According to Khafi Khan, a historian, the queens of Hindustan were skilled in riding and shooting. The chronicles of the times record the names of many queens and princesses well-adept in these arts. No one can doubt Razia's bravery and ability to lead the armies. Nur Jahan was a skillful rider. In hunting, even lions and leopards, apart from the deer, were a sure

target for her shot. Once Jahangir was almost in the paws of a lion when Nur Jahan shot it dead. A punster versified the event in a pun which suddenly became popular:

Nur Jahan, apparently a woman, ranked with men, because she can throw a lion down.¹

Jahanzeb Bano, the daughter of Dara Shikoh was an intrepid woman. She was adopted by Jahan Ara as her daughter, and married to prince 'Azam, son of Aurangzeb. No other lady of the royal household could compete with her in soldierly arts. She accompanied her husband, prince 'Azam, in most of the wars and joined the battle whenever a delicate situation arose.

Our illustrations are mostly taken from women of the royalty or the nobility. But it should not convey the idea that education was confined to women of high class. On the contrary, as pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, the public was much interested in girl's education. The realization of need of women's education among the royalty and the nobility goes to show that education permeated to the lower classes in some measure. That the chronicles do not definitely mention it is no proof of its total absence. As the society in those time did not approve the mention of women in public gatherings, the chroniclers, seldom if ever, recorded their accounts. The fact, however, is that the Muslims always attended to the education of their womenfolk, among whom education was fairly widely spread. The number

1. Zan-i-Sher Afgan contains the pun which means, (1) a woman who can throw down or kill lions, and (2) the wife of Sher Afgan Nur Jahan prior to her marriage with Jahangir, was married to Sher Afgan, a nobleman of Akbar's court.

of literate females was by no means less than today; and an excess may not be beyond belief.

The Indian Muslims attended to the development of body side by side with their literary activities. Apart from other reasons for the stability of their empire, the main reason for their conquests was their bodily superiority. It cannot be said with certainty what arrangement there existed for physical exercises; or if there were any arrangement for bodily exercises in schools. It is certain, however, that sports and exercises were a common feature of popular life of those days, and the nobility and the common people were equally interested in it. The very mode of warfare required a strong body. The Kings and their nobles not only needed to possess the best political acumen, but the highest skill in the art of warfare. Most of the Kings of Delhi, their governors and independent rulers and all the Mughul emperors were for their military skill and bravery, a class by themselves. They were trained in military arts from childhood. They started with training in horse-riding, archery and tent-pegging. This sort of training was not confined to the princes; the princesses, too, were instructed in these arts, as dealt with in greater details in chapter on Women's education in the foregoing pages. "The princes of the Mughul dynasty were expected not only to be versed in book-knowledge, but their education included physical training side by side with the cultivation of intellects and emotions. Each one of them loved hunting, was skilled in shooting and targetting, and adept in riding and swimming. Besides these outdoor games, their favourite indoor games were chess, chaupar (backgammon), tash (cards) and chandal mandal." Manucci writes¹ that the among the Mughuls,

1. Jaffar, p. 184.

a child was initiated into the military art at the age of five and their bodies were inured to military exercises. This had made every individual of the Mughul family an adept in military arts and unrivalled in heroic deeds.

In brief, it may be stated that during the time of the Muslim Kings, considerable attention was given to body-building and physical exercises, side by side with other necessities of human life. The care of development of physique was not confined to the nobility and the royalty; the general public were also fond of it. They never neglected it and were always after its achievement.

CHAPTER VII

CURRICULA AND THEIR FRAMERS

1. Quranic basis of education in Islam. 2. Spiritual and temporal education combined. 3. Curricula of studies in Islamic countries—various stages and details. 4. Aims and objects of the curriculum. 5. Dars-i-Nizamiyyah. 6. —Its drawbacks. 7. Shah Wali Ullah and his Family. 8. His works—translation of Quran in Persian. 9. Foundation of Madrasa-i-Rahimya. 10. —the Madrasa, a centre of Muslim national awakening. 11. Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz. 12. —he continued the work and movement of Shah Waliullah. 13. Other religious revivalists. 14. Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan. 15. Mulla Nizam-ud-Din's Family—Dars-i-Nizamiyyah. 16. Uttar Pradesh—seat of Muslim learning.

The ideology of Islam is based upon the teachings of the holy Quran, which prescribes a definite set of principles and regulations governing every aspect of human life, both individual and collective.

Education in Islam therefore begins with the holy Quran. In fact all learning as well as arts, which a Muslim is directed to acquire and practise has for its main object the desire to understand and grasp the meaning of the Quran, because the grasp of the injunction of the last revealed book, if fully observed, can lead a man to live a successful life in this world, individually and collectively, and also to win spiritual reward and

salvation in the life after death. In other words the Quran prepares its votaries to develop their intellect, understanding and physique in such a harmonious way that they become a perfect model of Islam. Side by side, a true Muslim gets himself fully equipped with all useful, practical branches of learning calculated to make him a useful member of society and good citizen of the state to which he belongs.

It was under the influence of the precepts of Islam and the traditions of the holy Prophet that the Muslims combined spiritual and temporal education so as to make them the teachers of the world. They carried the torch of learning and arts to distant countries and helped to revive the old classical learning which had fallen in obscurity. The modern world is indebted to the Muslims for their great contribution to the present day civilisation, because the improvement in art, science and industry is based upon the discoveries made by the Arabs and other Muslims. They made vast and critical study of ancient knowledge, wrote exhaustive and copious notes on them, and made them available to the succeeding generations of European nations. The Muslims never disregarded the spirit and demand of the changing times; on the other hand, while they produced original works of high quality and permanent value, they never hesitated to irrigate and let flow the fountains of intellect which had been lying parched and dried since long.

A casual study of the curricula adopted by Muslim educationists in Islamic countries in medieval times will show that it was drawn up with great care and breadth of view in order to prepare youths to take the world as it was, and to lead the nation to various stages of educational advancement. Unfortunately, definite and authentic information concerning curricula

Spiritual and temporal education combined.

Curricula of studies in Islamic countries—various stages and details.

Quranic basis of education in Islam.

adopted by Muslims in different countries and at different times has not been preserved, but there are occasional mentions in various books which can help a student of Islamic educational system give a fair idea of the principles on which education was based in Islamic countries. As far as the progress and development of education in India was concerned, the curriculum can be divided into three categories—one followed in the Afghan period and the other in the time of the Mughuls. A third curriculum was drawn up in the period of East India Company and the British rule.

The first period begins with the twelfth century and ends with the sixteenth. During the first period the following books were included in the curriculum of the *Darja-i-Fadil*.

Syntax :—Misbah ; Kafiya ; Lubbul Albab, by Qazi Nasirudin al-Baidawi. Later, the Irshad by Qazi Shahabuddin, Daulatabadi was added.

Literature : Maqamat-i-Hariri. An intensive study of the book was compulsory.

Logic : Sharah-i-Shamsiyyah.

Islamic Law : Hidayah.

Principles of Islamic Law : Manar-ul-Anwar and its commentaries and Usul-ul-Bazdawi.

Tafsir : (Commentary on the Quran) Madarik, Kashshaf and Baidawi.

Hadith : (Apostolic Tradition) Mashariq-ul-Anwar, Masabih-us-Sunnah and text of Mishkat-ul-Masabih.

Tasawwuf : (Mysticism) Awarif by Sheikh Shahabuddin Suhrwardy ; Fususul Hikam and a little later,

Naqdun Nusus and Lama'at by Fakhruddin Iraqi.

(Scholasticism)-*Sharahus-Sharif-Karam* : and in some places, Tamhid (Introduction) of Abu Shakur Salmi.

This curriculum continued without any amendment for nearly two centuries.

The second period of the curriculum in the Sub-Continent began when Fatehullah Shirazi arrived in India on the invitation of 'Adil Shah, king of Bijapur. On the king's death he moved to the court of Akbar where he was welcomed for his literary accomplishments. Fatehullah Shirazi revised the curriculum and made additions to the courses, then current. These changes were approved by the scholars of those times. The chief feature of the curriculum was that a further impetus was given to the introduction of rational learning by adding books on philosophy, logic and scholasticism. These changes were liked by scholars and educationists of those days. The following curriculum will give an idea of the changes made in the old curriculum at the suggestion of Fatehullah Shirazi. This has been taken from *Aljuz-ul-Lataif* by Shah Waliullah.

Syntax : Kafiya, Sharah Jami.

Logic : Sharah Shamsiyyah, Sharah Matali.

Islamic Law : Sharah Waqaya (complete).

Principles of Islamic Law : Hussami and selected portions of Tawadih and Talwih.

Tafsir : Madarik Masahib ; Shimal, Tirmizi and a portion of Sahih Bukhari.

Tasawwuf and Suluk (Mysticism) : Awarif ; Rasail-i-Naqshbandia, Sharah-i-Rubaiyyat-i-Jami ; Muqadma-i-Sharah-i-Lama'at ; Muqadma-i-Naqdun Nusus.

Scholastics : Sharah-ul-Aqaid Nasafi with notes and comments of Khayali ; Sharah Mawqif.

Philosophy : Sharah Hidayat-ul-Hikmah.

Rhetoric : Mukassar and Mutawwal

Medicine : Mojaz-ul-Qanun (abridgement of Avicenna's Qanun).

Astronomy and Mathematics : Several treatises.¹

Now we would deal with the "Dars-i-Nizamiyyah", (Nizamiyyah Curriculum) which in a modified form, still holds the field in Arabic Madrasahs. It is erroneous to associate Dars-i-Nizamiyyah with the Nizamiyyah, the university founded by Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Seljuki Minister at Baghdad. The curriculum was first formulated by Mulla Nizamuddin whom we have already mentioned. The curriculum followed in his time was the same ; as mentioned by Shah Waliullah. He added to it considerably. The amendments and additions were based on the principles laid down by Sheikh 'Abdullah and Fatehullah Shirazi, viz, to increase the number of books dealing with national sciences. The books included in the Dars-i-Nizamiyyah are detailed below :

Etymology : Mizan, Munshaib, Sarf Mir, Panj Ganj, Zubdah, Fusul-i-Akbari, Shafiyyah.

Syntax : Nehv-i-Mir, Sharah-i-Miat Amil; Hidayat-un-Nahv ; Kafiyyah ; Sharah Jami.

Logic : Sharhush-Shamiyyah; Sultan-ul-Uloom ; Risala-i-Mir Zahid ; Mulla Jalal ; Sughra ; Kubra ; Isaghoji ; Tahzib ; Sharah Tahzib ; Qutbi with Mir.

Philosophy : Sharah Hidayat-ul-Hikmat ; Shams-i-Bazigha ; Sadra.

1. Nadvi, p. 100 ;

Fiqh : (Islamic Law). Sharh-i-Waqaya (First two books) ; Hidayah (Last two books).

Usul-ul-Fiqh (Principles of Islamic Law) : Nur-ul-Anwar ; Taudih-ut-Talwih ; Musallamuth-thubut (Mabadi Kalamiyah).

Tafsir (Commentary) :—Jalalain ; Baldawi.

Hadith : Mishkat-ul-Masabih.

Scholasticism : Sharah-i-Mawaqif ; Mir Zahid : Sharah-i-Aqaid Nasafi ; Sharah Aqaid Jalali.

Rhetoric : Mukhtasir-ul-Ma'ani ; Mutawwal (Upto Maana qultu).

Mathematics : Khulasat-ul-Hisab ; Euclid (Book I) ; Tashrih-ul-Aflak ; Qaushjiyyah ; Sharah Chaghmini (Chapter I).

The real aim of this curriculum was :—

Aims and
objects of
the
curriculum.

1. Firstly, to develop among the students the power to think and ponder, rather than to stuff the mind with information. Consequently, emphasis was laid on subjects which cultivated thinking power and ability to judge. It was to achieve this aim that more books than one on Logic, philosophy and scholastics were included and the books in themselves were such as helped to achieve the aim.

Secondly, to overcome difficulty in grasping the thoughts of others. While it is important for the students to think over a problem by self-effort, it is no less important to fully comprehend the thoughts spoken or written by others. "The foremost feature of the curriculum which the Mulla had in view was to cultivate and develop the students' power of grasp in order to enable him to comprehend books of every branch of learning and art by self-study, on completing the course. No one

can deny the fact that a full mastery over the books of Dars-i-Nizamiyyah, leaves no work of Arabic beyond the mental grasp of the student—goal not attainable through the older curriculum¹.

“Such books on these sciences were sought out for inclusion in the course as had condensed texts rather than detailed, written in a language not so simple as to be easily comprehended. While the former was meant to foster in the student the ability to think for himself, the latter viz. the inclusion of difficult abstruse texts, ensured that, on completion of the course, the students felt no difficulty in comprehending the thoughts of others².

Due attention was paid to make the course as brief as possible. Only one or two books on every branch of science were included and that too in an abridged form. Some of the books were included partially. But all these books were usually the most abstruse books on these sciences. Besides being brief, the curriculum had, as said above, one great advantage in that it cultivated the habit of self-thinking and developed the power of self-study. As the branches of science which contribute the most to the cultivation of habit of self-thinking are logic, philosophy, scholastics etc., the number of books on these sciences was greater than on other branches of learning such as Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh and literature, for each of which only one book or two were prescribed. Dars-i-Nizamiyyah, is not the real Dars-i-Nizamiyyah. Many of the books now in use did not exist in the time of Mulla Nizamuddin, e.g. Mulla Hasan, Hamdullah, Hashya (Commentary) Ghulam Yahya, Qazi Mubarak³. Here is another observation by Moulana Shibli :—

1. Maqalat-i-Shibli, Vol. III, p. 100.

2. Gilani Vol. I, p. 305.

3. Maqalat-i-Shible, Vol. III, p. 101.

“It needs special mention that great portion of the curriculum, known today as Dars-i-Nizamiyyah to which the people have so tenaciously stuck, has no concern with the original Dars-i-Nizamiyyah ; for instance, Hamdullah and Mulla Hasan, included in the current curriculum were not written by the time of Mulla Nizamuddin. Qazi Mubarak too was not included in the original course. Ghulam Yahya was not to be traced at all. On the contrary, many of the books included in the original course have been removed. The courses mentioned by Moulana Abdul ‘Ali (son of Moulana Bahr-ul-Uloom) as in vogue in his time, include Sharah-i-Hikmat which is no longer in use. Similarly he has included music in the course, but today its very mention is to commit an act of impiety¹.

The curriculum, known as a Dars-i-Nizamiyyah today is as follows :—

Dars-i-Nizamiyyah.

Etyomology : Mizan ; Munshaib ; Panj Ganj ; Zubdah ; Dastur-ul-Mubtadi ; Sarf Mir ; Ilim-us-Sigha ; Fusul-i-Akbari ; Shafiyah.

Syntax : Nahv Mir ; Miatu Amil ; Sharah-i-Miati Amil ; Hidayat-un-Nahv Kafiyah ; Sharah-i-Jami.

Logic : Sughra ; Kubra ; Isaghoji ; Qala Aql ; Tahzib ; Sharah-i-Tahzib ; Qutbi ; Mir Qutbi ; Mulla Hasan ; Hamdullah ; Qazi Mubarak ; Mir Zahid ; Commentary on Mir Zahid, by Ghulam Yahya ; Mulla Jalal ; Sharah-i-Sullam ; and, in some institutions Annotations of Abdul ‘Ali on Mir Zahid and Sharah Sullam by Mulla Mobin.

Physics and Metaphysics : Maibazi ; Sadra ; Shams-i-Bazigha.

1. Maqalat; Vol. III, p. 124.

Fiqh : (Islamic Law) Sharh-ul-Waqaya, (First two books Hidayah (last two books)

Usul-i-Fiqh : (Principles of Muslim Law), Nurul Anwar; Taudih ; Talwih ; Musallamuth Thabut.

Tafsir (Commentary) : Jalalain ; Baidawi (Upto Surah Baqr).

Hadith (Tradition) : Sahih Bukhari ; Muslim Mo'ta ; Tirmizi ; Abu Daud ; Nasai ; Ibn-i-Majah.

Principles of Hadith : Sharh-i-Nukhbat-ul-Fikr.

Scholasticism : Sharah i-A qaidun Nasafi ; Khayali ; Mir Zahid Umur Ammah.

Rhetoric : Mukhtasar-ul-Ma'ani ; Mutawwal (Upto Maana qultu)

Literature : Nafhat-ul-Yaman ; State Muallaqat ; Hamasa ; Diwan of Mutanabbi (selections) ; Muqamat Hariri (Selection).

Mathematics : Khulasat-ul-Hisab.

Geometry : Euclid (Book I) ; and in some institutions upto Book IV.

Astronomy : Tasrih Sharh Tasrih-ul-Aflak ; Sharh Chaghmini.

Law of Inheritance : (Faraiz) — Sharifiyya.

Dialectics : Rashidiyyah.¹

—Its drawbacks.

The above curriculum, generally known as the Dars-i-Nizamiyyah, has certain disadvantages and drawbacks which, it is felt, call for its modification, and, in some places, steps have been taken in this direction to make it suit the needs of the times and environments :

1. Nadvi, pp. 104-105, Sufi, pp. 120-124.

(1) Undue emphasis has been laid on means due to which the students lose sight of real aim and take the means to be the end itself. Etymology and syntax are an indispensable aid to learning the language and to acquire accuracy in its use, but it does not justify the inclusion of 15 books on grammar, specially when the literature has been allotted only three or four books. The end of grammar teaching is to gain mastery over literature, not to master the grammar itself. Similarly logic has for its end the cultivation of power to ponder and think accurately. But inclusion of 15 books on the subject unduly emphasises its importance giving the impression that the learning of logic was an end in itself and the ultimate object of its teaching was nothing but to have a mastery of the subject. Moreover, "the books included in the curriculum largely contain matter irrelevant to the subject. Mulla Hasan, Hamdullah, Qadi and the like are supposed to deal with the art of logic, but treat of problems of public affairs and philosophy more than those of logic."

(2) True that the aim of a scholar should be to think out solution of a problem and to grasp the thoughts of others : but it does not mean that the acquirement of knowledge for its sake should be totally ignored. It is important to develop the ability to think and ponder ; but to create a yearning for knowledge is as much a necessity, so that a student may use his capabilities for acquisition of more and more knowledge. It is also true, that a student who, after finishing his schooling, continues his interest in study, can acquire skill in the learning or art of his choice but this cannot be expected of every student. It is therefore indispensable that, with the cultivation of their thinking power, their minds should be stored with useful and important information.

(3) The number of books and treatises included in the curriculum is so large that it is difficult, if not impossible, to acquire complete mastery of them.

(4) Scanty attention is given to Tafsir, Hadith and literature, considering their pre-eminence.

(5) Some important subjects have been totally ignored. History, Geography, Ilm-i-Ejaz-ul-Quran, Toponomy, and Geology have been paid little attention.

For all its short-comings, however, the curriculum has produced many men of talents and note.

The completion of the course does not ensure the highest attainment in any special branch of science; yet it develops in the scholar the ability to attain perfection in the branch of learning of his choice by self-effort. It dispenses with dependence on others for help.¹

In dealing with the problem of framing curricula of studies in two centuries following the death of Aurangzeb, it will not be out of place to describe, in more detail, the services rendered by the families of two distinguished votaries of Islamic learning viz. Shah Wali-ullah and Mulla Nizamuddin, a brief mention of whom has already been made.

After Aurangzeb's death, the Mughul empire was in the process of disintegration and decay. It is really surprising that the eighteenth century, when the literature and art had been deprived of central and provincial state's patronage, produced intellectual giants unknown

1. The short-comings of this curriculum have been fully discussed by Moulana Shibli in his memorandum appended to the report on Reformation of curriculum of Dar-ul-'Uloom, Hyderabad. He has not only advised the removal of the defects but suggested methods for their removal.

to the seven centuries of Muslim rule. There were, of course, saints and scholars like Mujaddid Alai Sani and Sheikh Abdul Haque, but the great inquirer like Shah Waliullah was born only in the eighteenth century. He, on the one hand preached to the straying Muslims again to tread the right path of Islam and thus completed the mission of Sheikh Muhaddith; while, on the other, he restored among them political unity and assembled them on the battlefield of Panipat as one nation.

In this field of education the most noted families were those of Shah Waliullah and Mulla Nizamuddin. Shah Waliullah was a descendent of Mufti Shamsuddin who was the first to arrive in this Sub-Continent. Sheikh Wajihuddin, the grandfather of Shah Waliullah was once a scholar and an adept in the military arts. He held the rank of a lieutenant in the imperial army of Shahjahan and 'Alamgir. Sheikh Wajihuddin had three sons. One of them, Sheikh Abdur Rahim, was the father of Shah Waliullah. The former received education from Abur Raza, Hafiz Syed 'Abdullah and Abul Qasim Akbarabadi in his child-hood. Later, he studied extensively and carried the torch of knowledge throughout the northern India. He established a school at Delhi, known after him as Madrasah Rahimiah.¹ This school produced the 'Ulema who were the pride of their age in the Pak-Hind Sub-Continent and who, on the one hand, benefited people of every nook and corner of Hindustan with the blessings of the apostolic Tradition; and on the other, revived among the Muslims the spirit of holy war; once more dinning into the ears of men with slave mentality, the hymn of freedom to the ringing of the sword.

Shah Wali-
ullah and
his Family.

1. Now known as 'Mehdiyon ka chowk' outside the Delhi Gate at Delhi.

Shah Waliullah was born in 1114 A.H. (1704 A.D.) towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign. As was the custom in those days, the Shah began to learn at the age of five. Having finished the Quran within a short time, he turned to Persian and Arabic. By fifteen, he had completed his education in Tradition, Commentary, Islamic Jurisprudence, Rhetoric, Scholasticism, literature, logic, philosophy, medicine, astronomy and mathematics. Thereafter the ceremonials of *Dastar Bandi*, the conferment of robe of honour, were gone through, and he was permitted to take up teaching. On his father's death, he taught in Madrasah Rahimiah for 12 years. In 1143 A.H. (1731 A.D.) he went on pilgrimage to Mecca for instruction in apostolic Tradition under Sheikh Abu Tahir, Sheikh Mahmud Fidallah and Sheikh Tajuddin. Having performed the Haj (pilgrimage) twice, he came back to Hindustan and resumed teaching profession.

His works—
translation
of Quran in
Persian.

Simultaneously with it, he commenced writing and compiling books. He translated the Quran into Persian which was the second translation of the Quran in this Sub-Continent. His translation of the Quran and other works, which are more than 50 in number and rank with the works of Imam Ghazzali and Razi, led him into troubles, ever new. The translation of the Quran had dealt a severe blow to the personal interests of the Pseudo-Mullahs who lived on the money extorted from the ignorant people in the name of religion. He was branded with (Fatwas of Kufr (heathenism), and tortured. Once certain hypocrites with anti-Islamic leanings, aimed at his life. But he continued with his teaching, preaching, writing and was engaged in propagating his message unperturbed. No worldly calamity could lead him astray from the right path. When Najaf Khan, provoked by Shah's enemies, had his arms dislocated to prevent him from writing he

did not desist from his favourite pursuit of writing and compilation of books and struggled till his death to achieve his life-aim.

On the one hand, his self-seeking opponents were arrayed against him; on the other, were gathering around him, like moths around the lamp, the seekers of truth to tread the right path in the light of the message of their enlightened leader. The number of the pupils, disciples and other seekers of instruction grew too large for the premises of the Madrasah Rahimiah within which the teaching could no longer be done satisfactorily. Mohammad Shah allotted to him a magnificent building within the city of Delhi. He moved from "Menhdiyon" and began his pursuit of teaching and instruction in the new building. In those days this school was one of the greatest seats of higher learning (Dar-ul-'Uloom) in the Pak-Hind Sub-Continent. The school in which Shah Wali Ullah his four sons, and Moulana Shah Muhammed Ishaque, Moulana Abdul Ghani, successively imparted instruction for a century and a half functioned most successfully and won reputation for efficient and superior teaching. But the fatal grip of time spares no one. After the death of Moulana Mohammad Musa in 1272 A.H. (1856 A.D.) and later when Moulana Abdul Ghani migrated to Mecca, there was none left to look after its management. The school lost its glory and, to crown the tragedy, the populace plundered it in 1857 and raised their own dwellings on its ruins. The only trace of the school now in evidence is the name of the quarter of the city known as Madrasah Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz.

Foundation
of Mad-
rasah-i-
Rahimya.

The school was not the seat of learning alone, it served simultaneously as the centre of a religion political movement which infused a new spirit of revival among the Muslims in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The rays from the centre were spreading in

—the Mad-
rasah a cen-
tre of Mus-
lim national
awakening.

all directions, illuminating every nook and corner, far and near. A group of the 'Ulema and the nobles formed in the time of the Shah was bent on completing the mission of Shah Wali Ullah, by pen and the sword. On the pattern of this school of Delhi, several schools in different parts of the country were established. They aimed at diffusion of knowledge, as well as to re-inforce the Wali Ullahi Movement. The notable supporters of the movement, among the scholars, were Moulana Muhammad Ashiq Phulehti, Maulvi Noorullah Budhanvi and Moulana Muhammed Amir Kashmiri; and among the nobles, Nawab Najib-ud-Doulah and Hafiz-ul-Mulk Rahmat Khan. Hafiz-ul-Mulk awarded monthly stipend to hundreds of students. Nawab Najib-ul-Doulah was a faithful disciple of Wali Ullah. He started Najibabad School to promote the spread of the method of teaching of Shah Wali Ullah, known as Wali Ullahi 'Tariqa-i-Ta'lim. At this institution free education was provided¹ Another school was started at Rae Bareilly in Takia Shah Ilmullah. Syed Ahmad Barelvi was born in this Daira (place of learning). The third centre of this movement was the school of Mulla Muhammad Mo'in, in Sindh, with which was associated the celebrated Shah 'Abdul Latif Bhatai.

Shah 'Abdul
'Aziz.

On the death of Shah Wali Ullah in 1176 A.H. (1762 A.D.) his son, Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, was unanimously hailed as his successor, while seventeen years of age. By that time he had completed his studies but had not achieved full comprehension of the doctrines of Wali Ullah. Attention was, therefore, first paid to the completion of his learning on the pattern set by Imam Wali Ullah. Moulana Muhammad 'Ashiq and Moulana Muhammad Amin instructed him in the science of

1. For details refer to Shah Wali Ullah by Moulana Sindhi, p. 156.

Tradition and in the principles of Wali Ullahi Movement while his father-in-law Moulana Noorullah helped the completion of his studies in Islamic Law (Fiqha). The school reached the zenith of reputation in the time of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz. Pupils from Kashmir, Afghanistan, Balkh and Bukhara attended the lectures of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, and bowed out of veneration to his erudition and character. He had extreme affection and kindness for his pupils and taught them with unremitting zeal. These intrinsic qualities of his character drew thousands of scholars around him.

Politically, the time of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz was much worse than that of Shah Wali Ullah. Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz had to keep alight the candle of knowledge and action against winds and darkness all around. "He, first of all, directed his attention to dispel through his teaching, preaching and writings, the wrong notions about Islamic doctrines and morale that had gripped the minds of the populace. In practice, he intended to wean the people from other religious leaders and scholars and attract them to himself and prevent the opponent groups from interfering with the growth of his movement. This was the first phase of Imam 'Abdul 'Aziz's programme. The second phase was the organisation of a centre of publicity for his revolutionary message...with Isma'il Shaheed, Syed Ahmed Barelvi and Moulana 'Abdul Hai as its members. In his own place he appointed Shah Muhammad Ishaque. The real aim of Imam 'Abdul 'Aziz was to make this party act in future for the removal of evils and weakness of the kingdom of Delhi; in other words, this party was to serve as the provisional government. Apparently the atmosphere of Delhi was not congenial to this aim; it was, therefore, inevitable that the party should move to the north-west region inhabited by the warrior race of the Afghans. As

He continued the work and movement of Shah Waliullah.

among the Afghans the leadership of a Saiyyid was likely to gain immediate popularity. Syed Ahmad Shaheed was appointed the leader of the party and 'Moulana Isma'il Shaheed and Moulana 'Abdul Hai were to be his viziers.¹ On the one hand, this line of action was chalked out for the people; while, on the other, the Shah with his three brothers and other chief associates was engaged in teaching, preaching and writing and compiling books. The works of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz in no way suffer by comparison with the writings of Shah Wali Ullah. Shah 'Abdul Qadir and Moulana Rafi'uddin translated the Quran severally. Shah Ism'il Shaheed wrote *Tabaqat* and *Taqviat-ul Iman*. Moulana Muhammed Ishaque translated into Urdu a book of Tradition, entitled the *Mishkat*. A large number of other books were also written.

On the death of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, Moulana Muhammed Ishaque succeeded him as the head of the school. Moulana Syed Ahmad Shaheed toured the different provinces of the Pak-Hind Sub-Continent and created a yearning for freedom among the Muslims. Accompanied by Shah Ism'il, he started for the tribal territory on the Western borders where they met their martyrdom in 1246 A.H. (1831 A.D.). Twelve years later, in 1258 A.H. (1843 A.D.) Shah Muhammad Ishaque with his family and dependents migrated to Mecca. A Board with Moulana Mamulk 'Ali, as President, and Moulana Qutbuddin of Delhi, Moulana Muzaffar Husain of Kandhla and Moulana 'Abdul Ghani was formed at Delhi for administering the affairs of the school and fostering its movement. It was a stop-gap arrangement to keep alive the movement and the school as there was no one available to head the institution

1. Sindhi, pp. 70-71.

and the movement as true successor of Shah Wali Ullah. Moulana 'Abdul Ghani was only twentyfive at the time but was universally known for his saintliness and piety. He discharged his duties admirably well till 1272 A.H. (1856 A.D.). Meanwhile, Moulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi and Moulana Muhammad Qasim received instructions in apostolic tradition from Shah 'Abdul Ghani and derived spiritual inspiration and accomplishments from him. They, under his tutorship, received all the blessings which a worthy pupil can acquire from a tutor of skill and ability. As men capable to prove their worth as the true successors of Shah Wali Ullah were not available. Shah Abdul Ghani, on the death of Moulana Muhammad Musa, the nephew of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, migrated to Mecca. Muhammad Musa was survived by his son, Abdus Salam and a daughter. There was no one left to look after the education of Abdus Salam. The pursuit of learning that had been in vogue in this family for generation was, therefore, discontinued. The same year, the school was plundered by the populace during the chaos that ensued in the wake of war of independence and damaged too extensively to serve again the school purpose. The literary atmosphere and glory were at a low ebb. Hence the school could not be revived at Delhi. Moulana Qasim 'Ali, therefore founded a Dar-ul-'Uloom (University) at Deoband in 1263 A.H. (1866 A.D.). The Dar-ul-'Uloom still flourishes in Hindustan and occupies the foremost place among a multitude of Arabic institutions.

Besides the family of Shah Wali Ullah there were, in the vicinity of Delhi, two more families, enjoying wide reputation for literary pursuits. One of them belonged to the literary lineage, of Mujaddid Alaf Sani. Among the literateurs of this lineage the famous Persian poet, Mirza Mazhar 'Ali Jan-i-Janan ranks the foremost. Mirza Mazhar, as a mystic, poet, commanded respect

Mirza
Mazhar
Jan-i-Janan.

Other religious revivalists.

of the high and the low alike, he, yet met his martyrdom probably at the hands of another sect. His successors Qazi Sanaullah of Panipat and Shah Ghulam 'Ali of Delhi, enjoy wide reputation. The former has written a number of books; including Tafsir-i-Mazhar.

At the same time Maulvi Sanaullah, a descendent of Shah 'Abdul Haq Mohaddith of Delhi, was also putting in his best efforts to promote the knowledge of apostolic tradition. His father and grand-father had written commentaries in Persian on Sahih Bukhari and Muslim. Maulvi Sanaullah, too, has to his credit the translations into Persian of Sahih Bukhari and Shimayil of Tirmizi.

Mulla
Nizam-ud-
Din's Family
—Dars-i-
Nizamiyyah.

Another celebrated family of the time was that of Mulla Nizamuddin, who enjoys immortal fame as the framer of Dars-i-Nizamiyyah. One of his ancestors, Mulla 'Alauddin Ansari settled at Barnawa in the Sub-Continent and a descendent of his, Mulla Qutbuddin, father of Mulla Nizamuddin on completion of his studies set up as a teacher in Sihali and continued in his benevolent profession till he met his martyrdom, falling a victim to the agelong enmity of two rival groups, Usmani and Ansar in 1103 A.H. (1691 A.D.). The emperor Aurangzeb on a report of the incident, punished the attackers and murderers and allotted two spacious houses to the bereaved family in Lucknow and Nizamuddin with his whole family shifted to their new abode Farangi Mahal at Lucknow, which now became a seat of learning and action. Mulla Qutbuddin had four sons, Mulla Asad, Mulla Saeed, Mulla Nizamuddin and Mulla Raza. In respect of erudition, none of them could be given a preference to the others, but the reputation of Mulla Nizamuddin as the framer of the Dars-i-Nizamiyyah, stands unshared by his brothers. When his father died, Mulla Nizamuddin was only fourteen years of age. He had started

learning under his father, and after his death he studied till the age of 24 years and acquired full mastery of rational and traditional learning under Mulla 'Ali Quli, Amanullah Banarsi and Moulvi Ghulam Naqshband. Thereafter, he took up teaching. The Mulla's reputation rests on his literary works; but he is known still better for framing the Dars-i-Nizamiyyah which originated with his father, and was completed at his blessed hands. The Mulla's reputation had spread in all direction and offices of dignity were within his reach for the mere asking; but he lived a life of self-abnegation and contentment. He suffered continued starvation for days with fortitude but kept aloof from men of means and wealth. He died of stone in the bladder on 9th of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1168 A.H. (1775 A.D.).

Mulla Nizamuddin left behind several sons of whom the ablest and the most erudite was the celebrated Bahr-ul-'Uloom, Moulana 'Abdul 'Ali. He was of seventeen when Mulla Nizamuddin died. He shifted from Lucknow to Shahjahanpur and was reverentially received by Hafiz-ul-Mulk who especially set up a school where Moulana Bahr-ul-'Uloom continued to lecture for twenty years. When anarchy overtook Rohilkhand, he moved to Rampur on an invitation from Nawab Faizullah. There he stayed for 5 years. Later he went to Bohar and thereafter on an invitation from Nawab Muhammad 'Ali Khan, ruler of Arcot to Madras, where he passed remaining days of his life. The Nawab built a school in which he resided with his pupils. The struggles for the succession that followed the death of Nawab Muhammed 'Ali did not detract from his prestige and esteem. He carried on his work of teaching and instruction without interruption till his death on the 12th of Rajab 1235 A.H. (1820 A.D.).

Moulana Bahr-ul-'Uloom was a prolific writer and

the best teacher of his age. He is distinguished for his vast erudition and his efforts to diffuse knowledge; not for inquiries and researches like Shah Wali Ullah. Nor did he use his position as a teacher for promoting religious-political movements like Shah Wali Ullah and Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, except taking a slight share in the local politics of the Karnatik. 'Allama Shibli's observation that "since the beginning of Islam, no man with such vast accomplishment was ever born in India, may be right in so far as it goes, yet, it is not fair to rank Moulana 'Abdul 'Ali with the great inquirers and researchers like Ibn-i-Khuldun and Shah Wali Ullah, as has been done by Moulana Sulaiman Nadvi. Moulana 'Abdul 'Ali's greatness lies in his erudition, not in inquiries and researches.

Of the three sons of the Moulana, all shared his zeal for diffusion of secular and religious learning, most prominent of them being Moulvi Abdur Rab who, on the death of Moulana Bahr-ul-'Uloom shifted to Lucknow. The fact can not be ignored that during the period of political decadence various individuals of his family, as well as his pupils kept the torch of knowledge and religion alight. Many other scholars, too, contributed their best efforts but the laurels of precedence go to this family.

Of the other families of 'Ulema, special mention may be made of the 'Ulama of Bilgram. The most famous among them were Syed 'Abdul Jalil and his son, Syed Muhammad. But Hisam-ul-Hind Ghulam 'Ali Azad, a pupil of the reputed Syed Mohammad, eclipsed both his teacher and his father. He was born in 1141 A.H. (1704 A.D.) went to Mecca for pilgrimage at the age of 34, and on return from Mecca he was received with great veneration by Nawab Nizam-ud-Doulah Nasir Jang, the son of Asif Jah, the ruler of the

Deccan where he breathed his last in 1199 A.H. (1785 A.D.).

The region, now known as the Uttar Pradesh, was the centre of learning and literature in those days. Every town and city was the cradle of knowledge and arts. Students from far off places came there for acquiring knowledge. "In this province the nobles and the gentry had established schools in villages situated within five or ten miles of each other. At these institutions lectures were given by the scholars of ability and repute. The students from far-flung places were attracted to these institutions. There were endowments or free-grant lands for them. Shah Pir Muhammad and Mulla Ghulam Naqshband, and, later on, the 'Ulema of Frangi Mahal at Lucknow; Moulana 'Abdus Salam at Dewa; Mulla 'Ali Quli at Jais; Aman Ullah Banarsi at Banaras; Syed Abdul Jalil and Syed Muhammad at Bilgram; Sheikh Mohibullah, Qazi Mohammad Asaf and Sheikh Muhammad Afzal; Mulla Mahmud Jaunpuri at Jaunpur; Qazi Mubarak at Mau; Moulana Bahr-ul-'Uloom and Mulla Hasan at Rampur; Mulla Hamidullah Sandelvi at Sandila; Moulvi Fazl-e-Imam and his son, Moulvi Fazl-e-Haque and others...all were engaged in teaching profession and in writing and compilation of books. Besides there were other centres of learning at Chirayya Kote and Walidpur in Azamgarh district, at Shahjahanpur, Bareilly and Pilibhit in Rohikhand, and at Ghazipur, Farrukhabad, Fatehgrah, Badaun and Daranagar.

Uttar Pradesh—seat of Muslim learning.

At this period, Moulvi Syed Dildar 'Ali of Lucknow and Tafazzul Husain Kashmiri enjoyed great reputation. Syed Dildar 'Ali is reckoned as the first Shia Muftahid of the Sub-Continent. Tafazzul Husain was an adept in Mathematics and a reputed philologist. Even during his tenure as Chief Minister to Asaf-ud-Doulah, Nawab

of Oudh, he did not renounce his plain living, and continued his activities as an author and compiler of books.¹

In regard to educational activities, Bihar stands next to Delhi and the Uttar Pradesh. Several towns, cities and villages in Bihar were the centres of learning in past times, most of them were well-known during the period of political decadence, for men of learning and erudition. "In Bihar, most of the people of noble birth and affluent circumstances usually possessed the ever-lasting wealth of art and literature. Free from care for worldly needs, they served the art and literature to their utmost by teaching and lecturing at their residences. The noblemen, not blessed with gift of knowledge, in order to maintain their prestige among their contemporaries, kept scholars and doctors of law and religion attached to themselves. They endowed properties and awarded stipends to students, hoping redemption in after life for this act of charity.² There were several schools in large cities of Bihar like Patna and Sahsaram. The school of Khanqah at Phulwari was an institution of great repute. It shared prestige with Farangi Mahal of Lucknow and was well-known far and wide. It carried on teaching activities without interruption. The splendid school-building of the school attached to the Khanqah of Shah Kabir is still existant. This institution in former times was the fountain-head of literary inspiration and spiritual benedictions. There were many towns, besides the foregoing notable institutions, well-known as centres of learning, most note-worthy among them being Dayanwan, Muhiuddinpur, Nagar Nehsa, Gilan and Isthawan. At these places several scholars of repute taught successively for a considerable length of time.

1. Maqalat-e-Shibli, Vol. III, p. 103.

2. Nadvi, p. 50.

The 'Ulema in other provinces, too, did not ignore their obligations in respect of promotion of learning. They carried on their duty in this regard in their own way. In Bengal 'Ali Vardi Khan had a fascination for knowledge and arts. On his invitation, a number of scholars and men of erudition assembled at Murshidabad, the then capital of Bengal. 'Ali Vardi Khan bestowed on them handsome gratuities. It made Murshidabad the cradle of literary activities. In the wake of 'Ali Vardi Khan's death, there set in political confusion and chaos and Murshidabad lost its former glory. During the stay of Moulana Bahr-ul-'Uloom at Bohar, the educational activities were revived and continued for long after the departure of the Moulana for Madras. His arrival at Madras heralded another era of literary activities, which benefited the high and low for a long time to come.

CHAPTER VIII

DEVELOPMENT OF FINE AND USEFUL ARTS

1. Painting.
2. Music and Song.
3. Calligraphy.
4. Printing.

The development of fine arts in Islamic countries, including India received fullest encouragement and patronage of the kings and nobles and affluent circles. It is a wrong notion that Islam is opposed to the cultivation of fine arts, like poetry, painting, music and the like. As far as Islamic point of view is concerned, there is no room in it for any thing that may have the least tinge of immorality, because the real end of the faith is to achieve purity of thought and action. Islam, therefore, does not put any premium on fine arts as an end in itself, as has been done by many other nations, specially those who believe in polytheism and idolatry. It cannot, on principle, agree to learn and practise those arts, which are likely to excite passions and create desire for moral abuses among the youth, which ultimately react adversely on the character and moral standard of the entire nation.

The kings of Delhi, the provincial rulers and aristocratic families all contributed their share to raise fine arts to the highest pitch of development in the medieval period of history of the Sub-Continent. They were so much devoted to it that they spared no effort to revive

and resurrect the old Hindu fine arts which had been languishing for a long time. Historical evidence is not wanting to prove that Muslim rulers both during the Sultanate period and the Mughul time lavishly extended patronage to the cultivation of Hindu arts, just as they supported the progress of Sanskrit and Hindi literature. Here a brief mention of only a few fine and useful arts, inter-related to education can be made.

Generally it is believed that it was only under the Mughul emperors that painting made great progress in the Sub-Continent. The fact, however, is that the art of painting flourished under the patronage of Delhi Sultans. A copy of the painting of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak's time is still found in the art gallery in Calcutta and is reckoned among the finest specimens of the art. Even in the time of Firoz Tughlak, an orthodox Muslim, art was flourishing and enjoyed royal support, but in deference to Islamic spirit he had to ban the drawing and painting of living creatures on the walls of his palaces. But he appreciated the art of drawing, to which the decorations of his palaces bear full testimony. The paintings on the walls were first introduced in the Sub-Continent by Ghaznavi kings. Painting.

The art thrived in the time of the Sultans. But under the patronage of the Mughul emperors it developed far beyond the height attained in the time of Delhi Sultans. Babar was greatly attached to poetry and natural scenery and did not find time during his short reign to attend to other branches of fine arts. Humayun, in spite of his disturbed life, gave sufficient attention to learning literature and fine arts. During his stay in Persia, as an exile, he came into contact with a pupil of Babad, the celebrated artist. He acquired a deep interest in painting and on his departure from Persia he took with him famous painters, Mir Syed Ali and Khawaja Abdus

Samad, to the Sub-Continent. While passing his days in Kabul before marching to India he practised the art for sometime. Here Mir Syed Ali, with the help of Khawaja Abdus Samad and several other master painters, began to decorate the Dastan-i-Amir Hamza with fine paintings, under Humayun's instructions. The work of illustrating the Dastan-i-Amir Hamza was completed twentyfive years after in the reign of Akbar.

In the time of Akbar, the Mughul empire attained the zenith of political ascendancy over the Sub-Continent. Literature and fine arts also developed unprecedently in his time. Akbar had inherited love of fine arts and natural scenery from his ancestors. As soon as he had restored peace and tranquillity in the kingdom he diverted his attention to the development of fine arts. In the beginning, the art of painting was dominated by the influence of Persian style, but not long after, the Indian artist trained at the Art Academy of Mir Syed Ali Tabrezi and Abdus Samad effected the fusion of Persian style with the Indian background. The art of painting thus developed to a stage of excellence described by Abul Fazl in the following words:

"His Majesty, from his earliest youth, has shown great predilection for this art and gives it every encouragement. Hence the art flourishes and many painters have obtained great reputation the work of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the Daroghas and the clerk; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases monthly salaries.... Most excellent painters are now to be found, and the master-pieces worthy of a *Bahzad* may be placed at the side of the works of European painters who have attained world-wide fame.

"More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, while the number of those who

approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is specially true of the Hindus, their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are found equal to them".¹

In Akbar's reign, a number of books were illustrated with portraits. "The number of master-pieces of painters increased with the encouragement given to the art. Persian books, both prose and poetry were ornamented with pictures and a very large number of paintings was thus collected. The story of Hamza was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story. The Chingiz Nama, the Zafar Nama, this book, the Razm Nama, the Ramayana, the Nal Daman, the Kalila-Damna, the Ayar Danish, etc., were all illustrated. His Majesty himself sat for likeness and also ordered the likeness taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed....

In the same manner, as painters are encouraged employment is held out to ornamental artists, gilders, line drawers and pagers.

There were at Akbar's court several master-painters, the most notable of whom were Mir Syed Ali Tabrezi and Khawaja Abdus Samad entitled "*Shirin Qalam*". They had arrived in India with Humayun. A large number of the Indians sat at their feet as pupils and acquired reputation for their skill in the art. Among them special mention may be made of Daswanth, Baswan, Kishori Lal, Mukand, Miskeen, Farrukh, Qalmaq, Madhav, Jagan, Mahesh, Khem-Karan, Agha Raza of Herat, Tara, Saonla and Harbans.

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, Ain. 35.

The love of painting and other fine arts was not confined to the emperor; the nobles of the court also were deeply interested in them. As regards patronage of the fine arts, Abdur Rahim, Khan Khanan stands in the fore-front. He was an exuberant poet and patronized poetry. He had a fascination for the painting and calligraphy. At his court, Mian Nadim, Bahbud and Moulana Shafiq were engaged in portraiture and miniature painting. Madhav, the famous artist of Akbar's court, had had his early training in the service of Khan Kahanan who was a skilled painter himself.

Jahangir was bred and brought up, so to say, in the cradle of literature and art. He was a true lover of beauty by his very nature, and had a passion for elegance and charms. He was interested in painting since his boyhood. Though not versed in portraiture himself, he was a great connoisseur of the art and critically judged a piece of art from an artist's point of view. In his memoirs, he asserts:—

“If there were similar portraits finished by several artists, I could point out the painter of each. Even if one portrait were finished by several painters, I could mention the names of those who had drawn the different portion of that single picture. In fact, I could declare without fail, by whom the brow and by whom the eyelashes were drawn”.

There were a number of master-painters at the court of Jahangir, like that at Akbar's court. They had, however, formed themselves into two distinct schools, Mir Syed Ali Tabrezi and Khawaja Abdus Samad, who had accompanied Humayun from Persia and illustrated the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* with illuminated paintings, in traditional Persian style. The same style was used for illustrating *Babar Nama*. But the gradual influx of Hindu

painters in their Art Academy, brought about the predominance of Hindu style of painting. Thus there was founded a new school of art. There was little distinction between them in the time of Akbar, but the distinctive traits came into clear relief in the time of Jahangir. The painters of his time can be grouped into two distinct schools. One of them, favoured the old traditions of Persian art and was hostile to the Hindu influence of the time of Akbar. These notable artists of this school were Farrukh Beg, Mohammad Nadir Samarkandi and Muhammad Murad. The second school was in favour of Akbar's movement of the fusion of Persian and Hindu arts. The noteworthy among the artists of this school were Gordhan, Manohar and Bishan Das. Besides the artists mentioned above Ustad Mansur and Abul Hasan, son of Aqa Raza were also famous painters of this age. They had special aptitude for representation of animals and birds. Jahangir conferred the title of Nadir-ul-Asrar on Mansur. As ordered by the emperor, he had drawn exquisite representations of more than a hundred flowers of Kashmir and its vicinity. He accompanied Jahangir on his trips to Kashmir. The title of Nadir Zamani was conferred on Abul Hasan for painting the royal procession. Jahangir spoke very highly of his intrinsic talents and craftsmanship.

Shahjahan was no less a lover of fine arts than his father and grand-father. But he was fanatically devoted to architecture. To him goes the credit of rearing those rare and magnificent edifices which stand unrivalled in the world. Though in his time the art of painting did not advance as it did in the time of his father, Jahangir, yet it was not neglected. Most of his court painters, including Gordhan, Manohar and Mohammad Nadir of Samarkand, had been the favourites of Jahangir. Shahjahan was not fond of nature painting; he preferred portraiture. Shahjahan reduced the number of court

artists, keeping under his patronage only a limited band of the most expert painters. A large concourse of craftsmen, therefore sought the patronage of the provincial governors and the nobles. This lent grace to the provincial courts, which assumed the glory of imperial courts in miniature. As zeal for the art of painting gripped the nobility, and its prestige at the imperial court declined, the artists moved to the nobles courts where they were warmly received and honoured.

Though Shahjahan did not inherit his father's passion for painting, yet his eldest son, Dara Shikoh had a devotion for painting and other fine arts. "He was a patron of art and favoured the tendency of fusion of Persian and Indian arts which originated in Akbar's time. His refined taste for paintings evidenced by the album of paintings he had got prepared for his wife, Nadira Begum. This album is still extant in the Indian Office Library and comprises 40 paintings". Dara Shikoh's eldest son, Suleman Shikoh was a so fairly interested in paintings. During his wanderings to evade Aurangzeb's wrath, he had two painters, Rama Das and Kumar Das in his retinue. The two painters were detained by Raja of Sri Nagar at his court.

Aurangzeb was not much interested in paintings. In his reign the remnants of craftsmen moved from Delhi to provinces. But a few paintings of his time are a class by themselves, e.g., the representation of the siege of Bijapur, preserved in the Rampur State Library.

After Aurangzeb's death, the Mughul empire went to pieces. The artists were reduced to poverty and no one cared for them. They ranked little higher than artisans.

While the fine arts were thriving under the tutelage of the Mughul emperors in northern India, the kings of

Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur patronized painting and other fine arts in the Deccan. The Nawabs of Hyderabad and Karappa also fostered the Deccani pen (style), Tajalli Ali Shah and his pupils were excellent craftsmen at Hyderabad. The Rajputi style, too, had made considerable progress. The Garhwali Jaipuri and Kangra styles originated and at some other places too the art flourished and developed.

The following extracts may be helpful in estimating the pitch of excellence which the art of painting had achieved under the Muslim rule. Mr. Brown observes, "An experienced painter must acquaint himself with human nature, inner qualities, habits and character. The painters of the Mughul court undoubtedly had it in the tips of their fingers. They were expert at depicting the human nature and inner feelings by their facial expressions, unfold his heart and spirit his soul." Another European critic says :

"The master-pieces of the Mughul paintings are expressive of their intelligence and talents. The accuracy and realism, elegance and delicacy, finish and fineness, embellishment and decoration of the pictures are surprising. The painters had mastered the art of prominently displaying the distinctions in rank and offices and the inner feelings and their effects by facial expression." On a certain occasion Mr. Lock Wood Kipling remarks :

"The painters of India, by portraying the Mughul kings, the princes and princesses of the Timurid dynasty, the nobles and the ministers, the military and civil officers, scholars, poets, religious leaders, hermits, attendants, wits, hunters, syces, craftsmen, artisan as well as prostitutes of the Mughul period, have produced a rare collection of paintings not possessed by any other country or nation of the world".

Islam did not approve of music, but Muslim mystics have looked upon it as permissible. The Chishti Sect of mystics still practises it. It was specially prevalent at the royal courts. The number of kings devoted to it has been fairly large. Some of them were not only musical theorists but expert musicians. In the time of Delhi kings, Amir Khusraw, who was unrivalled for his literary and poetical accomplishments, was a talented musician. Khawaja Nizamuddin Auliya was also a lover of music. It was under his tutelage that Amir Khusraw improved and developed this art. He brought about the fusion of the music of Islamic countries with the Indian music. Later the innovation developed and became prevalent.

Side by side, the art of music was making great strides in the provinces. The Muslim kings of Kashmir, Jaunpur, Gujrat and Bijapur attended to the development of the art. Zainul Abidin, king of Kashmir, Adil Shah, ruler of Bijapur and Baz Bahadur, ruler of Malwa were devoutly interested in music. Music was a popular topic of correspondence between Zain-ul-Abidin, king of Kashmir and Dangar Sen, Raja of Gwalior. Baz Bahadur, having been driven out of Malwa, joined the court of Akbar and was made a Mansabdar of 1,000. None of the court musicians of Akbar, except Tan Sen, could excel Baz Bahadur in the art of music.

Under the Mughuls, the fine arts, like literature and learning developed considerably. Babar was a skilled musician. He is credited with the authorship of a book on music. Akbar's skill in this art could not be equalled by musicians of experience. He was not only a good musician, but well conversant with the theory of music. In his time, music had become popular with the public in general. Its vocal side with its *rags* and *raginis* was

widely cultivated. New *rags* and instruments were invented.

Abul Fazl writes:—

"His Majesty pays much attention to music and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art. There are numerous musicians at his court, Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris, both men and women. The court musicians are arranged in seven divisions one for each day in the week. When His Majesty gives the order, they let the wines of harmony flow and thus increase intoxication in some and sobriety in others¹."

Thereafter he mentions 36 singers and instrumental players, all men. He probably honoured the eastern custom in not making public the names of women singers. Abul Fazl says of Tan Sen:—

"A singer like him has not been in India for the last 1000 years. Prior to his arrival at the Akbar's court, Tan Sen was in the service of the Raja Rewa. Akbar compelled the Raja of Rewa to surrender Tan Sen in 1567. He was a native of Gwalior and commenced his professional career in the school of music founded at Gwalior by Raja Man Singh. Shortly after joining Akbar's service he became a Musalman and was granted the title of Mirza. He died at Lahore in 1589 and was buried at Gwalior. Akbar was all praise for Tan Sen. On a certain occasion Akbar conferred on him a reward of 2,00,000 rupees. Such rewards were not given by the emperor alone; the nobility also lavishly rewarded the artists of skill. Khan Khanan who surpassed all other nobles in matters of rewards, awarded to the reputed musician, Rama Das, a reward of Rs. 1,00,000.

¹ Ain-i-Akbari, Book II, Ain. 30.

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, Book II, Ain. 30.

Jahangir inherited his father's taste for music. He maintained a good number of singers and instrumental players at his court. The Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri records the names of six specialists in the art. He observed the practice of arranging the singers into seven divisions. One division of them attended, according to their turn, when the king or his women were pleased to call them and regaled them with their melodies. They received stipends according to their worth, with rewards in addition. Jahangir Dad, Chitra Khan Parwez Dad, Khurram Dad and Hamza were musicians of repute at his court.

Shahjahan was much interested in music, besides architecture. He was an accomplished vocalist and well-versed in the science of music. He was fond of musical entertainment. Before going to bed he was daily entertained with music and thereafter with books. The readers read from behind a curtain. The emperor listened to them till sleep overtook him. His court, too, was thronged by musicians and singers of repute, of whom Rama Das, Mahabat, Lal Khan, Jagan Nath, Sukhsen and Sur Sen were expert in their art and enjoyed great reputation. He did not lag behind his fore fathers in rewarding the skilful artists. Once, delighted with his performance, he had Jagan Nath weighed against gold and gave him the amount as reward.

Aurangzeb, though averse to music, was himself a great singer and understood music. For the first few years of his reign he took a certain amount of interest in this art, but later, he developed a hostile attitude to it. Like Aurangzeb, Mulla Abdul Qadir in the reign of Akbar, was an expert vocalist, but did not approve of it as it was not sanctioned by Islam. Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz was reckoned among the expert theorists of this art. The Dars-i-Nizamiyyah included music as a science. Moulanah Shibli writes in this regard :

"He (Maulvi Abul Ali) has included music in the course, though today it would be an act of impiety even to name it."¹

During the anarchy following the death of Aurangzeb, music, like any other art, fell upon evil days. It no longer existed at the court or among the populace as an art; but only as a profession, if at all. The art has been revived in the 19th. century and is being rapidly developed.

Associated with the art of painting was the art of Calligraphy. Calligraphy which developed simultaneously. The art of calligraphy has always been held in high esteem in Asian countries. In fact, it was considered an important factor of education. The very nature of Persian script leads one to think of fine pen-manship. The influence of the West has detracted from the value of the art of calligraphy but under the Muslims it was a well developed art. The kings, the nobility and the people all looked upon it as an art of great value, and most of them were skilful calligraphist. The master-pieces of the renowned calligraphists were prized as highly as those of the painters. They were preserved carefully and were sold at high prices. A fine writer should not, in fact, enjoy a lower degree of popular esteem than a painter. In the time of the Muslim kings, both the arts flourished and developed side by side. The reputed calligraphers spared no pains to embellish the margins of their Qitas or writings with the most exquisite paintings. Similarly the master-pieces of painting often bore, on the reverse, a few lines by some eminent master of pen-manship. In those days we come across men like Khawaja 'Abdus Samad who were master, in their age, of painting and pictorial art and stood unrivalled as calligraphists.

1. Sufi, p. 75.

During the Mughul period, on the one hand, flourished the art of painting and, on the other, the art of fine pen-manship. Babar invented a new style of writing known as Babari. Humayun, throughout his life, was engrossed in political struggles and could spare little time to attend to the development of fine arts. It was under the reign of Akbar that, along with painting and the pictorial art, calligraphy received the highest encouragement. His court was frequented by a number of excellent pen men which included the renowned calligraphists Muhammad Husain Kashmiri and Khawaja Abdus-Samad Shirin Qalam. The former was conferred the title of Zarrin Qalam and the latter that of Shirin Qalam. Beside them, among the calligraphers of note, trained in this period were included Mulla Baqar, son of Mulla Mir of Herat, Muhammad Amin Mashhadi, Mir Husain Kalanli, Maulana 'Abdul Hai, Abdur Rahim, Mir Abdullah, Ali Husain Kashmiri, Nurullah and Qasim Arsalani. In Akbar's reign there were eight modes of calligraphy in vogue, of which Nastaliq was special favourite of the emperor Akbar. Jahangir and Akbar too, had a fascination for calligraphy. Jahangir was ready to pay very high prices for well-written manuscripts. Mir Hashim, the celebratee painter of the reign of Shahjahan, enjoyed a high reputation as a calligraphist. Aurangzeb, himself was a skilful calligrapher and defrayed a portion of his personal expenses, like Nasiruddin, by selling copies of the Quran transcribed by him. His librarian, Jawahar Raqam, was the most excellent pen-man of his time. Aurangzeb highly admired his art. A number of master-pieces of this art, belonging to the Mughul period are still existant and bear testimony to the exquisiteness and excellence the art had attained in that period.

The art of fine writing was not confined to writing on paper. It figures in writings on the coins and

buildings, which have been exquisitely executed, and are the finest specimen of the art.

Printing had made its appearance in the Pak-Hind Sub-Continent in the beginning of the Mughul period, yet for certain reasons the process was not in general use. The popular mode of supply of books was to make copies by hand. At that time the calligraphy went hand in hand with the speed in writing. Both the art had developed a pitch which enabled the copyist to transcribe the most bulky volumes within a few days. The recorded accounts of the tremendous speed of writing may now be looked upon as fiction but they are too authentic to be discredited. Sheikh Mubarak, father of Abul Fazl and Faizi, had copied out of 500 bulky books in his own hand, Shaikh Junaidi, one of the family of Hazrat Baba Farid Ganj Shakar, was so facile with his pen that he could transcribe within three days the whole Quran with diacritical points on letters. These instances can be multiplied on the basis of historical records.¹ The two instances, given above, are, however, a sufficient evidence of the accelerated rate at which copies were made prior to the general use of the art of printing. A large number of people in those days lived on the art of transcription. They were adept in the art and supplied copies to their customers within a short time. The speed in transcription assured fair prices of books, though the printing was not a common process in those days; and made books easily available everywhere.

This does not mean, however, that books of all kinds could be had at low prices. The price was related to the excellence of pen-manship quality of embellishment and the skill of the transcriber. Mr. Martin says:—

1. For more instances refer to Gilani, Vol. I, p.p. 54—55.

The lovers of old manuscripts complain of the high prices demanded for them. But the highest price demanded today is far too low compared to what the owners in the past had paid for them. The manuscript for which Jahangir paid 3,000 gold mohurs (about 10,000 pounds sterling) can fetch no more than 2,000 sterling in Paris today. On the basis of different writings, I have calculated that one master-piece of the celebrated painter, Bahzad, fetched hundreds of pounds sterling and some of them fetched ten times the amount offered today. Until recently when the collectors of manuscripts lived in the east, were sold at much higher prices in London and Paris than today. Some centuries old manuscripts were valued much and fetched a much higher price. The Mongol, the Temurid and the Mughul kings paid for them incalculately high price. An offer of 10,00,000 francs for an excellently executed copy of the Holy Quran was not an extraordinary event.¹ The common books and their transcribed copies were fairly cheap in those days but the special manuscript and rare books were too highly priced which it is impossible for us to calculate. The former feature is indicative of popular education while the latter enables us to estimate the premium placed on books and manuscripts of rare merit.

1. Quoted by Jaffar, p. 95.

CHAPTER IX

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

1. Aim of Muslim Education. 2. Elementary Education. 3. Secondary Education. 4. Vocational Education. 5. Physical Education.

The aim of Muslim education is to prepare a student for a purely moral and religious living, calculated to make him a sincere practical man, living not only for the sake of himself, but for humanity, and also for winning spiritual blessings and God's favour in the next life, beginning after death. Hence the real basis of education in Islam was religion. The teachers were sincere devotees of faith. They regarded it as their sacred duty to instil the spirit of pious living, God-fearing and fellow-feeling among their pupils. The subjects taught were mainly based upon religion. Later on, however, when Greek learning was introduced among Muslims and they grew fond of Greek philosophy, the syllabus of Islamic schools was widened by the inclusion of philosophy, logic and other branches of rational learning.

Education was divided, in two grade—primary, secondary or higher. Elementary schools in the early period of Islam were opened in a portion of mosques, called "Kuttab". Subsequently, separate buildings, containing several rooms, were used for schools and different classes were held in different rooms. The instruction of a Muslim child began at home at the age

of 4 years and 4 months, when he was initiated to the study of the Holy Quran.

Elementary Education.

The child's learning started with the observance of *Bismillah* ceremony. When the child was four years, four months and four days old, he was entrusted to the care of his tutor who was responsible for the child's education onward. The men of means engaged a teacher who taught the child at the parent's house. The teachers were known as Maulvi Sahib or Munshiji.¹ In the towns and cities elementary education was imparted in institutions known as *Maktabas*. These institutions were mostly held in mosque situated in the vicinity of the student's residences and the Muezzin or the Imam of the mosques performed the duties of the teacher. Besides the *Maktabas* attached to the mosques, there were separate *Maktabas*, mostly in villages and certain towns, in which the children of all castes and creeds received instruction free from all restrictions and distinctions. The child's parents remunerated the teacher in cash or kind sufficient to secure for him a decent living. During the period of decline of the Mughul empire there were thousands of schools of this type in the Pak-Hind Sub-Continent. No sizable village lacked it. According to Max-Muller, there were 80,000 such schools in Bengal alone, while according to Adam, they numbered one hundred thousand (1,00,000).²

In other provinces, too, their number was as large. This indicates how universal was the elementary education in the Pak-Hind Sub-Continent in the past.

In these *Maktabas* instruction was imparted in the Quran and the three R's. The Muslim children were

1. Jaffar, p. 147.

2. Hardy as referred to by Jaffar, p. 150,

also taught the basic principles of Islam as observed in offering prayers. As the Muslims in those days generally spoke Persian, instruction in *Maktabas* was imparted through that language. The students sat on mats or benches with books in their hands. The teacher sat on a high platform or on the table. The method of teaching was the same as is in vogue in elementary classes nowadays. First of all he was made to recognise the letters of the alphabet and the vowels; thereafter he was initiated into word-making by joining various forms of letters and made to recognise and read them. Mastery over words was followed by reading the sentences consisting of the words read so far. Simultaneously with words-reading, instruction in writing was taken up, but practice in reading preceded writing. This method was some-what different from that used in the *Patshalas* in which reading and writing went hand in hand and the latter received greater attention. In the beginning learning Persian created difficulties for the Hindus as the mode of Persian writing characteristically differed from Hindi way of writing. Nearly all the Indian languages are written from left to right, while Persian follows the Arabic pattern of writing from right to left. Realizing this difficulty, Akbar repalced the old method of teaching letters and words, by a new method based on the *method followed in the Patshalas*. This method took up reading and writing simultaneously. For teaching the alphabet, the words and the sentences, it was recommended to begin with the writing of the alphabet. Every effort was made to familiarize the children with various forms and, curves of each letter. They were thus to learn in the beginning, the names and various forms of the letters and thereafter, to join letters into words and thus learn to form and read words and sentences. "A week's practice of this method enables a student to learn a piece of prose or poetry. For a few days, a hemistich or a

sentence is similarly taught and the child acquires fluency in reading within a short time". It was a better method, but how far it was put into practice, is not known.

The beginners were taught only as much as they could learn, with the growth of ability to understand and grasp, the lessons lengthened. Wooden tablets were used for writing on, and reed pens for writing with. Usually the children wrote the previous day's lesson on the tables; it helped them to read, write and remember. The student was not permitted to write what he did not fully comprehend. Instruction in the Quran received the greatest attention as it formed the most important factor of the elementary education. Along with the Quran, were taught elementary books in Persian such as *Karima*, *Amadnama*, *Gulistan* and *Bostan*. Rudimentary arithmetic and writing were also taught. This completed the elementary education.

Secondary Education.

Completion of the elementary stage was followed by the beginning of the secondary stage. The number of secondary schools was not so large as that of elementary schools. In some places elementary and secondary education was given in the same institution; while in some others, secondary and higher education was imparted in the same building. The institutions for secondary and higher education were known as Madrasahs. Some of the Madrasahs were attached to the mosques, while others were held in separate buildings. Persian and Arabic were taught in these institutions. Higher education in various branches of learning was imparted in Arabic, Persian, therefore, suffered in prestige in comparison with Arabic. Instruction in Persian was mainly confined to literature and comprised five branches of learning, literature and composition,

poetry, fiction and stories; history and ethics. The syllabus consisted of the following books:—

Literature and Composition :

Badai-ul-Insha, known as Insha-i-Yusufi ; Maktubat-i-Abul Fazl; Bahar-i-Sukhan by Sheikh Mohd. Swaleh ; Maktubat-i-Mulla Munir ; Karnama-i-Lal Chand ; Marqumat-i-Mulla Jami and Mulla Munir ; Guldasta-i-Shaikh Inayat-Ullah Secretary of Shahjahan ; Ruqqa'at-i-'Alamgiri ; Munsha'at (epistles) of Mulla Shaida and Mulla Tughra ; Lailavati (Faiz's translation).

Poetry:—Yusuf Zulekha ; Tuhfatul-Abrar ; Subha-tul-Abrar by Mulla Jami ; Sikandarnama ; Makhzan-ul-Asrar ; Haft-Paiker ; Shirin Khusrai ; Laila Majnun by Nizami ; Qiran-us-Sadain ; Matla-ul-Anwar ; Ijaz-i-Khustavi by Amir Khusraw of Delhi ; Diwan of Shams Tabrez ; Diwan of Zahir Faryabi ; Diwan of Sa'adi ; Diwan of Hafiz ; Qasaid of Anwari ; Qasaid of Khaqani ; Qasaid of 'Urfi ; Diwan of Faizi ; Diwan of Badr-i-Chach and Diwan of Saib.

Fiction:—Tuti Nama ; Anwar-i-Suhaili by Maulana-Husaini ; Ayar-i-Danish by Shaikh Abul Fazl ; Bahar-i-Danish.

History:—Shah Nama of Firdausi ; Zafar Nama of Sharfuddin 'Ali Tirmizi ; Fatuhat-i-Taimuri ; Akbar Nama, an account of Akbar Badshah ; Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri ; Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi ; Razm Nama (translation of the Mahabharata).

Ethics:—Akhlāq-i-Nasiri ; Akhlāq-i-Jalali ; Nuzhat-ul-

Arwah; Mathnavi of Moulana Roomi; Hadiqa-i-Kalim Sanai.¹

Mr. Adam's report is an admirable compendium of educational matters of Bengal in the 19th century. As by that time the British system of education had not been so common as to reach every village and town, the method of teaching and the curriculum given in his report must have essentially been the same as was in vogue in the time of the Mughuls. Writing on education in Rajshahi District, he says :—

"In schools where Persian is taught, printed books are not used ; books in manuscripts are, however, in general use. The curriculum is not divided according to classification. The Muslims, like the Hindus, start their children's education with alphabet reading. When a child, male or female, completes four years, four months and four days of his age, he is dressed in his best clothes and brought before a family gathering. He is seated on a couch against a large cushion.... It is the ceremony of Bismillah (starting education). He is taught the alphabet through the eye and the ear as we do. The forms of letters are impressed on his mind by practising to write them. His ears are familiarized with the sound by continuous repetition. He has to repeat the process till he fully comprehends the relation between the letters and their sounds. Thereafter, he starts learning the 30th chapter of the Quran which comprises short *Surahs* which are usually recited in prayer and at funeral ceremonies. The words are provided with diacritical points so that a child may well grasp the forms of individual letters, way of their joining together correct writing and correct pronunciation of words. But he is not taught meaning at this stage. The next books to

1. Khulasat-ul-Makatib as referred to by Nadvi.

be taken up is Pand Nama of Saadi. It contains moral precepts, most of which are beyond child's comprehension. The aim of teaching this book is not to make the child understand it, but to enable him to read with fluency and correct pronunciation. He is initiated in writing and joining letters into words. Next comes the *Amadnama* which contains conjugation of Persian verbs. They have to be learnt rote. Gulistan is the first book to be read with comprehension. It is followed by Bostan. Next, the child is taught to write Persian, Arabic and Hindi names and specially the words, which are too difficult to pronounce or to write to dictation correctly. Fine pen-manship is greatly valued and appreciated. Those who would acquire skill in calligraphy have to practise it from three to six hours daily. At first they practise writing simple letters and later three or four letters combined together. In the beginning they use pens with broad points and later on they write with pens with medium and finer points on pieces of paper joined together. Having acquired skill in writing they use separate pieces of papers for writing on. Side by side with it, or thereafter, are taught well known poetry books as Yusuf Zulekha, Laila Mainun, Sikandarnama and others. Then follows instruction in Arithmetic and letter writing. This completes the child's education in Persian.¹

Another source of imparting higher education to students was to hold discussions and seminars in different parts of the town at fixed periods, which were properly announced beforehand. The nobles and government officers also held meetings for this purpose at their own houses. Some renowned scholars presided over these functions and opened the debates to which every person was at liberty to contribute. Almost all subjects included

1. Adam Report edited by Basu, p. 150.

in the syllabus of the secondary education were discussed and teachers and students, both, took part in them freely. This free and fair interchange of ideas was more conducive to intellectual awakening and diffusion of learning than education within the walls of schools and colleges. When a student had completed his education, he was awarded a testimonial in a sort of convocation held annually. This testimonial contained, in brief, a description of his educational attainments and permission to start teaching to others. He was also authorised to put on a special kind of dress which resembled very much the modern gown.

Vocational Education.

At the conclusion of Primary education a boy was at liberty to take up vocational study instead of going for higher education. Mostly, the students either followed their parents' profession or took up any other technical work which their elders selected for them. The professions generally adopted were, Medicine, Artisanship, Calligraphy and Portrait Drawing etc. These and many other professions were taught regularly. The learners were placed under the apprenticeship of an expert or in an institutes where novices were sent for training. The teachers gave full instructions and explained the technique of professional work. Unless a full course has been done under an efficient trainer, a boy was not considered qualified to adopting that particular profession. It sometimes happened that an expert did not explain all secrets about his profession to his wards, and let it remain a close secret with him to be buried along with him after his death. This led to the gradual decline of some special technical branches of learning, until it was revived after sometime by individual or joint efforts and intelligent craftsmen.

Physical Education.

The Muslims have always regarded physical training as a part of education and have given it equal status

with that of the training of the mind. In the holy Quran there is a story about Bani Israil. Exasperated with the tyranny of King Jaloot (Goliath) they approached their Prophet Samuel and requested him to appoint a king over them to fight Goliath. The Prophet Samuel informed them that Allah had appointed Taloot (Saul) as their king. The leaders of Bani Israil objected to his appointment saying, 'He is neither rich nor even free from cares and as such how can he deserve to be made king over us?'. The Prophet Samuel's reply to them is thus described in the Quran. 'Allah has chosen Taloot (Saul) because he has given him superiority in body and mind over you, Allah has the right to bestow His land on whomsoever He likes: He is All-embracing and All-knowing.'

This shows that Islam gives equal importance to the training of the body as well as of the mind. The Prophet himself and his great companions have exhorted Muslims to learn wrestling, archery, horse-riding, swimming etc. According to one Tradition all games are banned with the exception of horse-riding, target-shooting and those designed to give amusement to one's family. In the desert of Hedjaz there was no occasion for learning swimming, but the Prophet himself had learnt it and encouraged others to do the same. He encouraged wrestling also. In about with Rukana, the famous Arab wrestler, the Prophet overthrew him in all the three rounds. In the battle of Uhad a few underage boys were enlisted on the ground that they were good wrestlers.

In this connection the opinion of Al-Ghizzali is that suitable games should be arranged in schools to help the students to recover after their mental endeavour in the class-room, for such a recovery is necessary to refresh his memory and renew his energy. If a pupil is

kept away from play and forced to study continuously his spirit will be damped, his power of thought and his freshness of mind will be destroyed. The result will be that he will become sick of study and will try to evade his lessons.

True education does not have as its aim the development of man's mind alone. Its real aim should be to develop a healthy mind in a healthy body. A man with feeble body cannot achieve mental and moral superiority, attainable by a man of robust health. The education that develops the body at the cost of intellect and emotion is not worth-while. Similarly, the education which ignores the development of the body is not only worthless, but totally defective. The real purpose of education is to draw out innate capabilities of man so as to make him, individually and collectively, an ever better human being. Hence the education which suppresses the development of any of the innate capabilities of a man is not worthy of its name.

Islam has enjoined the upkeep of one's body but has prohibited to make it suffer torture of any sort. The second Caliph, Hazrat Farooque, the great, advised parents to train their children in riding and archery. Ibn-i-Arabi has laid great stress on the building of the body and would inure the youth to a life of hardihood. He makes various sports and bodily exercises obligatory for them.

The Indian Muslims attended to the development of body, side by side with their literary activities. Apart from other reasons for the stability of their empire, the main reason for their rapid conquests was their bodily superiority. It cannot be said with certainty what arrangement there existed for physical education, or if there were any arrangement for bodily exercises in schools or not. It is certain, however that sports and exercises

were a common feature of popular life of those days and the nobility and the common people were equally interested in them. The very mode of warfare needed a strong body. The kings and their nobles had not only to possess the best political acumen, but the highest skill in the art of warfare also. Most of the kings of Delhi, their governors, and independent rulers and all the Mughul emperors were trained in military arts from childhood. They started with training in horse-riding, archery and tent-pegging. This sort of training was not confined to the princes; the princesses too, were, instructed in these arts, as dealt with in greater details in chapter on Women's Education in the foregoing pages. The princes of the Mughul dynasty were expected not only to be versed in book knowledge, but their education included physical training, side by side with the cultivation of intellect and emotions. Each one of them loved hunting, skill in shooting and targetting, and was adept in riding and swimming. Beside these outdoor games, their favourite indoor games were chess, chaupar (backgammon), tash (cards) and chandal mandal. Manucci writes :¹

Among the Mughuls, a child was initiated into the military art at the age of five and their bodies were moulded to military exercises. This had made every individual of the Mughul family an adept in military arts and unrivalled in heroic deeds."

In brief, it may be stated that during the time of the Muslim kings, considerable attention was given to body-building and physical exercises, side by side with other necessities of human life. The care for development of physique was not confined to the nobility and the

¹ Jaffar, p. 184.

royalty; the general public were also fond of it. They never neglected it and were always after its schievement.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION OF HINDUS UNDER MUSLIMS

1. Educational facilities in Hindu society extended to privileged classes only. 2. Benefit of Muslim rule—education thrown open to all. 3. Alberuni in India. 4. Deccan Hindus patronised by Muslims. 5. Hindus learn Persian under Lodis. 6. Under Mughuls. 7. Patronage of Bangla. 8. Development of Marahatti under Muslims. 9. Education of the Hindus. 10. Hindus indifferent to history writing. 11. Hindus inspired to writing history. 12. Muslim kings and nobles patronise Hindu men of latters. 13. Hindu poets of Persian. 14. Hindu writers and authors of Persian prose. 15. Lexicogtaphers. 16. Transletors. 17. Hindus and Rational sciences. 18. Hindu writers on Medical Science. 19. Hindu Musicians. 20. Hindu painters.

At the advent of the Muslims in India the Hindus, due to their bigotry and narrow mindedness, hated foreigners and considered them as untouchable and no one could think at that time of the possibility of the Hindus becoming so enlightened, tolerant and cosmopolitan in their outlook, as to work together with an alien nation and to learn their culture and mode of life. But within a short period of about two hundred years they were so changed as to seek employment under their Muslim rulers and attend educational institutions along with the Muslims. This practice of tolerance on their part gradually led to their educational advancement.

Educational facilities in Hindu society extended to privileged classes only.

That the Hindus welcomed English education at the very beginning of British supremacy in India, was a direct outcome of the policy of the pre-British Muslim rule. They had afforded them ample opportunities to overcome their conservatism and welcome the cultural benefits, the Muslims had brought to them. As a result of their quest for knowledge, which had been engendered by their Muslim masters, they opened schools, colleges and other centres to learn English language and also went abroad to achieve this object. Had it been otherwise, it would have taken a very long time for the Hindus to get rid of their national and religious prejudices and getting reconciled to the Western civilization and culture.

Benefit of
Muslims rule
—education
thrown open
to all.

The other advantage in the field of education extended by the Muslims to the Hindus was to nationalise it and provide requisite facilities at all the levels of the Hindu society. Formerly educational facilities were strictly restricted to Brahmins and the entry of other castes to the temple of knowledge was banned, so much so that a Shudra was punished by law with melted lead poured into his ears, if he would only hear a verse from their holy book, the Vedas. But under the Muslims, education was made available with perfect equality and freedom to all castes including Brahmins, Khattaris, Kayasths and Banyas. It was not shut out even to the lowest strata of the Hindu society.

The greatest benefit of the Muslim rule for the Hindus was that, apart from the multiplicity of the number, the scope of their arts and sciences was also enlarged. Without meaning to undermine the prestige of the ancient Hindus it can be asserted that the branches of learning in pre-Muslim India were extremely limited. History had no place in the Indian curriculum. Geography existed but nominally. Of course, philosophy, medicine, Euclid, astronomy, metaphysics, poetry and

music had been there. But in the first place instructions in these subjects were confined to the special class of people; secondly, researches made by foreign nations in these subjects were absolutely unknown to them. The Muslim scholars and educationists developed a comprehensive syllabus after removing the prevailing defects.

The first educational pioneer among the Muslims in India was Biruni. He came here during the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi. It was the beginning of the Muslim rule in India and, yet, at that stage their payment of the loan of knowledge with interest to the Hindus, who had advanced it to Baghdad Caliphate in the second century A.H (8th century A.D.) was considered necessary. In this connection the English translation of a relevant passage from Biruni's 'Kitabu'l-Hind' is given below:—

Al-Beruni in
India.

"Being a foreigner I had to take my lessons from Hindu astronomers in the beginning; but soon after, having acquired working knowledge of their language, the position was reversed. Since I was well versed in astronomy and Mathematics, I soon began to instruct them. Pandits were much amazed and they wondered who had taught me those things. They did not easily believe that a foreigner could ever equal them in learning. They regarded me as a magician and called me 'The Sea of knowledge'!"

For the benefit of Pandits, Biruni translated from Arabic into Sanskrit a number of books including a treatise on astrolabe, Ptolemy's Almagest and Euclid's treatise on geometry. Moreover, he wrote numerous pamphlets, covering about 120 pages containing replies to such questions as were raised by the Hindu Pandits relating to the subject of Astronomy.

Deccan
Hindus
patronised
by Muslims.

The social and political barriers, resulting from a slavish bondage to customs, were first broken in the Deccan. The Muslim rulers extended patronage to the Hindu scholars, which policy gradually promoted amity and goodwill. The Hindus of the Deccan became attached to the Bahmani rulers and eventually they gained monopoly of almost all the government offices. Firishta says:—

“It is a common knowledge that formerly the Brahmins had nothing to do with the Muslim rulers. Engaging themselves in the pursuit of knowledge, particularly in astronomical studies, they lived a life of contentment in villages, on river banks and other isolated places. They considered service under a temporal power, particularly under the Muslims, incompatible with righteousness and piety. If some of them, by virtue of their being physicians, astrologers, preachers and story-tellers, ever came in contact with persons of power and authority, they were favoured and rewarded; but they would not bind themselves to undertake employment under the Muslim rulers. The first Brahmin who accepted a service under the Muslim kings was Gangu Pandit and up-till now (1010 A.H./1601 A.D.), unlike other parts of India, the Secretarial work in the Government of the Deccan is assigned to Brahmins.¹

Persian, being generally the court language, was studied by the Hindu officials. Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah who was a ruler of the ‘Adil Shahi dynasty in 942 A.H. (1535 A.D.) replaced Persian with Hindi and thus gave an upper hand to Brahmins in the State affairs.²

Hindus learn
Persian
under Lodis.

As for North India, the Hindus began to study Persian during the reign of Sikandar Lodi. History

1. Frishta, I, p. 278.

2. Ibid II, p. 27.

shows that for the education of the Hindu population no special arrangement had been made ever before. The hereditary system of education and the courses of study were allowed to continue undisturbed. In the Preface to the “Promotion of Learning in India,” its author says: “The day was yet distant when we should find the Muhammadan rulers patronizing the education of their Hindu and Muslim subjects alike and encouraging with equal ardour the growth of other learning besides the Muhammadan; but for about a century or two after the first Muhammadan conqueror had set foot on Indian soil, Hindu education and literature followed their own independent course supported by their own votaries.”

But there are reasons to believe that the study of Persian had found favour with them much earlier. The accession of Firuz Shah Tughlaq in 755 A.H. (1354 A.D.) was followed by the conquest of Kangra when the Sultan, on his visit to a volcano, happened to find a small library, from which he took some books and got them translated into Persian. According to the Siyarul Muta’akhirin “the Sultan summoned the scholars of that community to the court and they had the contents of some of these books explained to him. Then they were ordered to translate some of them into Persian.”

Anyhow, a regular and popular system of Persian studies was introduced in the time of Sultan Sikandar Lodi who established mosques, schools and maktabas at the bathing places of the Hindus and made education compulsory for the army. These measures resulted in spreading and popularising Persian learning among them. Firishta says:

“During his (Sikandar Lodi’s) auspicious reign learning was promoted. Nobles, officers and soldiers engaged themselves in intellectual pursuits, while the

Hindus learnt to read and write Persian which, until then, had not been adopted by them."¹

The Hindus had a good time under Shir Shah. He treated them with considerable generosity. As in the Deccan, they were appointed to the posts of trust and responsibility. Raja Todarmal, who was later included among Akbar's Nawratan (Nine Jewels), had been trained by Shir Shah. He worked as his minister of revenue.

Under the
Mughuls.

During the reign of the Mughuls the education of the Hindus received more powerful impetus and reached its zenith. The knowledge of Persian language became the possession of a common man. Important educational centres were located in big cities, such as Thatta, Multan and Benaras for instruction in Sanskrit and religious studies, besides Persian language. They drew the students from far and wide. The rulers of Timur's dynasty liberally patronized the learned irrespective of caste and creed. The Hindus were admitted among provinces and independent states, Hindus in Kashmir and Bengal showed greatest zeal in equipping themselves by taking full advantage of educational and cultural facilities that existed in Mediaeval India under Muslim rulers.

Sultan Zainul Abidin, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in 826 A.H. (1422 A.D.) and on the relics of whose kingdom the Emperor Akbar raised the edifice of his empire, got many books translated into Hindi from the original Arabic and Persian. Firishta says, "He ordered most of the books in Arabic and Persian to be translated into Hindi. Sribhat, a capable physician, was patronized by the Sultan."

1. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 148.

Regarding Bengal Mr. N. N. Law is of opinion that Bangla, the richest of all Indian languages, owes its development to the beginning of Muslim rule in Bengal. He says in his book 'Promotion of Learning in India under Muslim Rule.'

Patronage
of Bangla.

"The efforts of the rulers of Bengal were not confined to the promotion of Muhammadan learning alone, for they also directed their fostering care to the advancement of letters into a new channel, which is of particular interest to Bengali-speaking people. It may seem to them an anomaly that their language should owe its elevation to a literary status not to themselves but to the Muhammadans, whose interest was evoked by merely a sense of the curious, and was indirectly roused by its connection with Sanskrit, which formed a most cherished treasure of the vast Hindu population with whom they had come into frequent contact.

'It was the epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—that first attracted the notice of the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal at whose instance they were translated into Bengali, the language of their domicile. The first Bengali rendering of the Mahabharata was ordered by Nasir Shah of Bengal (1282—1326 A.D.) who was a great patron of the Vernacular of the province, and whom the great poet Vidayapati has immortalized by dedicating to him one of his songs. Vidayapati also makes a respectful reference to Sultan Ghyasuddin, most probably Sultan Ghyasuddin II of Bengal (1367—1373 A.D.)

'Emperor Hussain Shah was a great patron of Bengali, Maladhar Basu was appointed by him to translate the Bhagvata Purans into Bengali...Pargal Khan, a general of Hussain Shah, and Paragal's son Chhuti Khan have made themselves immortal by associating their

Deccan
Hindus
patronised
by Muslims.

The social and political barriers, resulting from a slavish bondage to customs, were first broken in the Deccan. The Muslim rulers extended patronage to the Hindu scholars, which policy gradually promoted amity and goodwill. The Hindus of the Deccan became attached to the Bahmani rulers and eventually they gained monopoly of almost all the government offices. Firishta says:—

“It is a common knowledge that formerly the Brahmins had nothing to do with the Muslim rulers. Engaging themselves in the pursuit of knowledge, particularly in astronomical studies, they lived a life of contentment in villages, on river banks and other isolated places. They considered service under a temporal power, particularly under the Muslims, incompatible with righteousness and piety. If some of them, by virtue of their being physicians, astrologers, preachers and story-tellers, ever came in contact with persons of power and authority, they were favoured and rewarded; but they would not bind themselves to undertake employment under the Muslim rulers. The first Brahmin who accepted a service under the Muslim kings was Gangu Pandit and up-till now (1010 A.H./1601 A.D.), unlike other parts of India, the Secretarial work in the Government of the Deccan is assigned to Brahmins.¹

Persian, being generally the court language, was studied by the Hindu officials. Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah who was a ruler of the ‘Adil Shahi dynasty in 942 A.H. (1535 A.D.) replaced Persian with Hindi and thus gave an upper hand to Brahmins in the State affairs.²

Hindus learn
Persian
under Lodis.

As for North India, the Hindus began to study Persian during the reign of Sikandar Lodi. History

1. Frishta, I, p. 278.

2. Ibid II, p. 27.

shows that for the education of the Hindu population no special arrangement had been made ever before. The hereditary system of education and the courses of study were allowed to continue undisturbed. In the Preface to the ‘Promotion of Learning in India,’ its author says: “The day was yet distant when we should find the Muhammadan rulers patronizing the education of their Hindu and Muslim subjects alike and encouraging with equal ardour the growth of other learning besides the Muhammadan; but for about a century or two after the first Muhammadan conqueror had set foot on Indian soil, Hindu education and literature followed their own independent course supported by their own votaries.”

But there are reasons to believe that the study of Persian had found favour with them much earlier. The accession of Firuz Shah Tughlaq in 755 A.H. (1354 A.D.) was followed by the conquest of Kangra when the Sultan, on his visit to a volcano, happened to find a small library, from which he took some books and got them translated into Persian. According to the Siyaru'l Muta'akhirin “the Sultan summoned the scholars of that community to the court and they had the contents of some of these books explained to him. Then they were ordered to translate some of them into Persian.”

Anyhow, a regular and popular system of Persian studies was introduced in the time of Sultan Sikandar Lodi who established mosques, schools and maktabas at the bathing places of the Hindus and made education compulsory for the army. These measures resulted in spreading and popularising Persian learning among them. Firishta says:

“During his (Sikandar Lodi's) auspicious reign learning was promoted. Nobles, officers and soldiers engaged themselves in intellectual pursuits, while the

Hindus learnt to read and write Persian which, until then, had not been adopted by them."¹

The Hindus had a good time under Shir Shah. He treated them with considerable generosity. As in the Deccan, they were appointed to the posts of trust and responsibility. Raja Todarmal, who was later included among Akbar's Nawratan (Nine Jewels), had been trained by Shir Shah. He worked as his minister of revenue.

Under the
Mughuls.

During the reign of the Mughuls the education of the Hindus received more powerful impetus and reached its zenith. The knowledge of Persian language became the possession of a common man. Important educational centres were located in big cities, such as Thatta, Multan and Benaras for instruction in Sanskrit and religious studies, besides Persian language. They drew the students from far and wide. The rulers of Timur's dynasty liberally patronized the learned irrespective of caste and creed. The Hindus were admitted among provinces and independent states, Hindus in Kashmir and Bengal showed greatest zeal in equipping themselves by taking full advantage of educational and cultural facilities that existed in Mediaeval India under Muslim rulers.

Sultan Zainul Abidin, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in 826 A.H. (1422 A.D.) and on the relics of whose kingdom the Emperor Akbar raised the edifice of his empire, got many books translated into Hindi from the original Arabic and Persian. Firishta says, "He ordered most of the books in Arabic and Persian to be translated into Hindi. Sribhat, a capable physician, was patronized by the Sultan."

1. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 148.

Regarding Bengal Mr. N. N. Law is of opinion that Bangla, the richest of all Indian languages, owes its development to the beginning of Muslim rule in Bengal. He says in his book 'Promotion of Learning in India under Muslim Rule.'

Patronage
of Bangla.

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names with the Bengali translation of a portion of the Mahabharata.

Pargal Khan used to invite his courtiers every evening to his palace at Paragalpur in Feni, to hear the recitation of the Bengali Mahabharata by the translator Kavindra Paramesvara. Under Paravgal, the epic was translated upto the Sri Parva, but Chhuti Khan, who succeeded Paragal in the governorship of Chittagong, followed up the work by appointing a poet named Sri Karna Nandi, whom he ordered to translate the Asvamedh Parva.

"Examples of Bengali translation of Sanskrit and Persian books at the instance of Muslim chiefs are not rare. They served to remove the superciliousness with which Bengali was regarded by the Sanskrit-loving Brahmins and the Hindu Rajas. The latter imitated the Muhammadan rulers and chiefs in patronising the Bengali writers, and it became the fashion to keep Bengali court poets. Many distinguished Bengali poets and writers have since adorned the courts of Hindu Rajas and raised Bengali to a high place and made it a rival of the languages that had already established their footing."¹

The above policy had the effect of making Arabic and Persian studies a distinct accomplishment to be acquired by the Bengali Nobles, specially by those families who enjoyed ancestral right for holding high official positions and jagirs.

"Raja Ram Mohan Rai opened the way to renaissance in Bengal.² This is a well-known fact that he learnt

1. Promotion of learning. p. 107 and further.

2. Moulana Sherevani's speech at Madras in 1917.

Arabic in Patna. In the last winter a Bengali Hindu of repute informed me that until the time of his father and uncle, Bengalis from Calcutta continued to go out in good number for the study of Arabic and that, accordingly, his uncle completed his education in Arabic at the age of 15 years.

It is a matter of great surprise that Marhatti, the language of the Marhattas, who were the most formidable enemy of the Muslims and who hated their language and culture, owes its development more than any other language to the benevolence of the Muslims. They were a wild and vulgar race and so had to learn civil etiquette and polished manners from their rulers in spite of their hostilities against them. Since the Marhatti language was too poor to serve effectively as a court language in the vast territories occupied by the Marhattas, it had to be enriched with Persian vocabulary by the Muslims and the Brahmins alike, who possessed proficiency in the Persian language. The *farmans* of the Marhatta Rajas are replete with Persian and Arabic words in original or distorted form. Today old Marhatti literature can hardly be understood even by the most educated Marhattas because of the Arabic and Persian words used therein freely.

Development of Marhatti under Muslims.

As for the educational system in villages, it was the same as exists today. A village teacher, popularly called *Guraji*, an employee of the landlord or paid by the contribution of the entire population of the village. Children would squat either in the verandah attached to a *kachcha* house or under some shady trees on the mud-plastered ground. Each had a black painted wooden board and a dry piece of paste of chalk. All writing was done either on the surface of the ground or on the wooden board. That was how reading, writing multiplication table were taught in Hindi to a village child at the primary stage.

Education of the Hindus.

General education ended at the primary stage. But the students who chose to continue their studies further, either learnt Sanskrit or Persian, the state language. For the teaching of Persian there were *Maktabas* in villages where both Hindu and Muslim teachers were employed. The latter would naturally be in majority and were generally called *Miyanji*. The text-books prescribed for elementary education in Persian contained lessons on conversations, letter writing and stories on ethical topics. Children of both the communities studied together with perfect unity and harmony. The syllabus included the *Gulistan*, *Bostan*, *Yusuf-Zulaikha*, *Insha-i-Khalifa*, *Bahar Danish*, *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri*, *Anwar Suhaili*, *Sikandar Nama*, *Shah Nama*, etc. Emphasis was laid on calligraphy and Persian composition. To give a practice in reading manuscripts, the teacher had a long roll of about 200 letters to be read by the students. This was secondary education.

After this stage the students either undertook some job or joined some important centres of education in big cities to prosecute higher courses of study in Persian literature, poetry and other branches of learning under the guidance of some eminent scholars. They studied some Arabic books as well.

Abul Fadl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* has given the curriculum followed in his time as under :

'Ethics, Accounts, Mathematics, Agriculture, Euclid, Mensuration, Astronomy, Astrology, Revenue Laws, State Administration, Medicine, Physics, Metaphysics and History. In addition to these subjects Hindu students had to study *Vyakaran* (Sanskrit Grammar), *Vedanta* (Hindu Mysticism and Ethics) and *Patanjal* (Hindu Philosophy). This sort of higher education, according to Abul Fadl, raised the status of the whole

empire. This higher education may be regarded as the college education of the time.'

In evaluating the progress of learning and education of the Hindus under the Muslims, it will not be irrelevant to quote *in extensive*, the view of *Monsieur Lieuban*, well-known author of '*Indian civilisation*' and '*Arab civilisation*' comparing the Arabs and the Indians in relation to their efforts for advancement of knowledge he remarks :

"The old accepted opinion about Hindus' learning has undergone a change to a considerable extent. It had been revealed that their ideas were borrowed from those people with whom they came in touch without any contribution of their own. Hence, a research in the Indian learning in any particular period would mean an enquiry about the learning of those nations who had some relation with India at that time. And this topic is beyond the purview of our book. From what has been stated about the mental condition and attitude of the Hindus, it would easily be understood why they made little or no progress in such branches of studies as were introduced in India from outside. The Hindu mind, which is penetrative in philosophy with a quick grasp for arts, is devoid of the quality which is essential for research and which constitutes the basis of all knowledge and learning. They have always suffered from this draw-back. They are capable of assimilating what others discover in the domain of knowledge but without making any further improvement upon it. It appears that the Hindus drew their knowledge from the Greek and Arab sources. It is not known how Greek learning reached India. It is, however, easier to understand how Arab learning passed on to India. The Arabs had developed commercial relations with India long before the commencement of the Christian era and they also served as

a means to link up the West with the East. Later, when the Muslims conquered the whole of the old world, these relations continued undisturbed as before.

'Arab historians have proved that many Hindu scholars were attached to the court of the Caliphs in Baghdad. Later, when the Muslims established their rule in India, the Muslim scholars continued to propagate knowledge throughout the country. In the 11th century A.D. Al-Biruni, who was a contemporary of Mahmud Ghaznawi, the first conqueror of India, travelled all over the country. He introduced different branches of Arab learning, which had by that time spread throughout in consequence of the incorporation of Arab researches with the heritage of the ancient times. Accordingly it would be fair to say that further after 1100 A.D. Indian learning meant Arabic learning. It can, therefore, be asserted that the Indian learning, which originated with the works of Aryabhat in Mathematic and developed by Braham Gupta in the 7th century A.D., is still restricted to such problems as had been discussed by these two Mathematicians. The works produced by the Hindu writers, which are still available, show that they did not make much contribution of their own. Formerly it was claimed that Indian astronomy was highly developed and was very old. But now this theory had been disproved and so any discussion on this point will take us nowhere. If any new proposition has at all been propounded in these works, that too has been left undeveloped and unproved. For instance, Aryabhat speaks of the rotation of the earth without advancing any argument, whatsoever, to prove it. Similarly in the 12th century A.D. Sabha Sukar Charya referred to the system in Mathematics, known as Calculus, without explaining it at all.

'What has been stated above proves, beyond doubt,

that the Hindus added nothing note-worthy to human knowledge. When they themselves have made no researches, it is futile to discuss their learning or examining such theories as have been imported from the Greek and Arab works of research. Of course they made considerable progress in practical fields, though they have lagged behind in the field of learning.

'It is not to be denied that in the pre-Muslim period beginning with the rise of Buddhist religion, there lived a good number of Hindu writers. The schools set up here and there, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, functioned as preaching centres of Buddhism. When Shankar Acharya, wiping out Buddhism and Jainism, revived the Vedic religion, Sanskrit started gaining ground in place of Pali, which had been the language of the people professing Buddhism. Then followed an outburst of religious fervor stimulating a wide-spread interest in composition and compilation. This enabled the Sanskrit language, which had been limited until then to hymns, prayers and incantations, to extend itself to the province of philosophy and sciences. In spite of this, barring the religious works, Sanskrit can scarcely claim more than what can be contained in a few almirahs. There were only two or three books on several branches of knowledge intermingled with myth and legend. This is corroborated by the statements of the Sanskrit-knowing Muslim scholars and European orientalists as well as by the existing material collected from the field of this language.

'It were the Muslims who told them that books could also be written, besides mythical stories and legendary tales. The ancient works had mostly been monopolised by the Brahmins; but the extension of educational facilities to all other castes secured for them the right of freedom in the matter of acquisition of knowledge. To learn the language of the Muslims

and to visit a Jain temple was, at first, considered to be more dangerous than to fight a duel with a furious elephant. However, their prejudice, as already stated elsewhere, gradually disappeared and after hundreds of years the Persian learning appeared to gain popularity from the time of Sikandar Lodi. Now it is proposed to discuss the development of different subjects among the Hindus as the fruits of Persian education in the following pages."

Hindus indifferent to history writing.

History is one of the subjects towards which the Hindu mind was never attracted. Lieuban goes so far as to hold opinion that Hindu mind is devoid of an aptitude for this subject. In order, therefore, to gain some knowledge about the past we have to depend upon the Greek and Chinese travellers. We possess no means of our own to acquaint ourselves with the past history. There is nothing beyond surmises to guide us, in our effort to get an idea of the political revolution or to know something about the provincial governors, or distinguished scholars and thinkers. Even the dates of their birth and death and principal life events cannot be ascertained. The Puranas give short biographical accounts of only a few saints and hermits but that cannot be treated as history. With the advent of the Muslims there begins a historical era in a country, devoid of historical records, throwing a flood of light in every nook and corner of Aryavarta.

Hindus inspired to writing history.

The commendable interest displayed and fostered for historical studies by the Muslims kindled an enthusiasm amongst the Hindus for the development of the subject of history with the result that we find a great deal about the Hindu authors who wrote in Persian and who were the products of the educational and literary efforts made during the Muslim rule in India, First of all, let us deal with the Hindu historians.

Raj Tirangni : This was the first book on the history of Kashmir written in Hindi by a Hindu author named Kulhana during the time of Sultan Zainu'l Abidin, who ascended the throne in 826 A. H. (1442 A.D.)¹ It was presented to Akbar the Great, on the occasion of his visit to Kashmir and subsequently translated under his orders into Persian. There was a special post of history writer under Kashmir administration and the book in question is its first fruit.

Lal Jai Das compiled in Persian the biographical accounts and precepts of his teacher in 1158 A. H. (1745 A.D.). the manuscript of which can be seen in the Government Collection Library.

Bangali Das Wali : Banwali Das held the office of Mir Munshi (Chief Secretary) to Prince Dara Shukuh. He wrote a history of the kings of Delhi under the title of Raja Dilli. The book is authentic and has been quoted by many reliable historians. Its manuscripts are available in many libraries.

Rai Bindraban : Rai Bindraban was the son of Rai Bharamal. He has left a book entitled Lubbut-Tawarikh, written in good literary Persian.

Isardas : Isardas wrote a book entitled Futuh-i-'Alamgiri which has perpetuated his memory.

Bhimsen Kayesth : Bhimsen wrote a book, entitled Dil-Kusha, which gives a historical account of the reign of Aurangzib and is still available.

Narain Kaul 'Ajiz : Was a resident of Kashmir. In the preface of his book he writes, "The nobles in Kashmir had pressed me long to write a history

1. Ferishta vol. II, P. 344.

of their homeland. At last I undertook the responsibility on the persistent request of my countrymen. At the same time Malik Haider collected some matter from Sanskrit sources under the orders of 'Arif Khan who held the combined offices of Diwan and Lieutenant-Governor. It was placed on my disposal. But on the scrutiny I found it liable to correction. Eventually I incorporated it in my book after checking it with the help of the Sanskrit sources. Thus the history of Kashmir was completed in 1124 A. H. (1712 A.D.)

Munshi Hiranman Guru Hardas: Munshi Hiranman acted as Munshi (Secretary) to Mu'tamad Khan who had sided with 'Alamgir in the war of succession. When 'Alamgir ascended the throne, he was appointed Governor of Gwalior in 1071 A. H. (1660 A.D.) Thereupon Munshi Hiranman wrote his book Gwalior-Nama which contains the history of the province covering the period from 322 years after Vikramaditya upto the time of Mu'tamad Khan's rule. Other noted Hindu historians were :—

Jaswant Rai, Munshi Thakur Lal, Munshi Sujan Khatri, Bindrabandas, Jagjiwandas, Kamraj, Kishan Chand Ikhlās, Lala Ram, Khush Hal Chand, Hiralal Khushdil, Maharaja Kalyan Singh, Seo Das Lucknawi, Rup Narain, Rai Chitraman, Durgadas, Anand Rup, Manna Lal, Rai Kewalram, Dalpat Rai, Bindraban Khushgu, Pandit Krishnanand, Budh Singh, Reghunath, Sheo Prasad, Mukand Rai, Mohan Lal Anis, Harnam Singh, Ranchurji, Lachmi Narain Shafiq, Harsukh Rai, Munshi Manna Lal, Rai Amar Singh Khushdil, Daulat Rai, Rai Bhagwandas, Mohan Singh, Munshi Chhatarmal, Bisawan Lal Shadan, Sundar Lal Kaul, Munshi Sada Sukh Lal, Bahadur Singh, Ratan Singh, Ram Sita Singh, Pandit Bishan Narain, Lala Sital Chand, Munshi Mah-tab Singh, Girdhari Lal, Raja Kundan Lal.

The Hindu historians, mentioned in above number as many as 54 and this number could be enhanced considerably if we only possessed means to collect necessary information, if all sources had been topped.

A cursory view of the old authors would reveal that most of them held various positions of responsibility under the Government or were attached to the court of some noble or a prince. A large majority of them functioned as secretaries, chroniclers and Diwans. Persian was the state language during the Muslim rule in India. Though there was no compulsion in the matter of learning the Persian language, but for some reason or the other, the Hindus started taking interest in the study of Persian from the time of Sikandar Lodi. In due course of time they acquired proficiency in it to such a degree that according to an English historian there remained no distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims as far as the knowledge of Persian was concerned.

Muslim kings and nobles patronise Hindu men of letters.

Hindu-Muslim social intercourse and their mutual relations under the Muslim rule knew no communal discrimination. They met each other freely night and day, held social gatherings and got welded in a common society with the result that the Hindus would become easily conversant with Persian. This effect continued and extended to the modern schools and colleges where Hindu students chose Persian as an easier optional language in preference to Sanskrit. But Muslim hatred soon took possession of young Hindu generations at the instance of their political leaders and they raised cry of Hindi for Hindus.

During the short period of 250 years of the regime of Timur's dynasty a large number of Hindu poets of such eminence flourished that we are proud of them. The following Hindu poets of Persian without exception,

Hindu poets of Persian.

drew greater applause for the excellence and exquisiteness of the language from their contemporaries as well as from the royal courts.

1. Aram, 2. Afrin, 3. Ikhlas Kali Prasad, 4. Ulfat, 5. Ulfat, 6. Ulfati, 7. Amanat, 8. Indraman, 9. Uns, 10. Anis, 11. Badr, 12. Brahman, 13. Bahar, 14. Bahjat, 15. Taftah, 16. Tamanna, 17. Thaqib, 18. Haya, 19. Khushdil, 20. Khayali, 21. Khamush, 22. Raqim, 23. Rahmati, 24. Rifat, 25. Rafiq, 26. Raunaq, 27. Zar, 28. Sabqat, 29. Sarwari, 30. Shadan, 31. Shafiq, 32. Shawq, 33. Shahr, 34. Sahibram, 35. Diyai, 36. Ishrat, 37. Gulshan, 38. Gulshan, 39. Mumtaz, 40. Munshi, 41. Munshi, 42. Manohar, 43. Mujid, 44. Mujid, 45. Mawzun, 46. Mawzun, 47. Naqqad, 48. Wamiq, 49. Wafa, 50. Waqar.

The number of Hindu Persian literary men is so over-whelmingly large that they cannot possibly be enumerated within the compass of this chapter. Many of them were really very good writers and many possessed the capability of official correspondence only in accordance with the requirements of the time. As compared with other castes, the Kayesthas rose to a greater height of glory in respect of their number.

Offices were mostly staffed with the Hindus who, as it were, monopolised the secretariat and revenue departments. In the later period of the Muslim rule they came to occupy high offices in these departments. It was customary to designate them as Mir Munshi or entitle them as Munshi-ul-Mamalik. These office bearers invariably possessed a literary bent of mind. All the orders and *farmans* issued from the royal court were drafted by them. Most of them were appointed as chroniclers also.

The *farmans*, letters and documents, drafted by Hindu scholars when accumulated and popularised, were compiled in the form of a book. Some of these compila-

tions gained such a wide popularity that they were selected for incorporation in the syllabus prescribed from time to time. For instance, the *Munsha'at-i-Brahmin*, the *Insha-i-Madhuram*, the *Munsha'at-i-Jawaharmal*, *Khayalat-i-Nadir*, and the *Dasturu's-Sibyan* belong to this category.

It has repeatedly been pointed out elsewhere that the Hindus diverted their attention for the first time towards the study of Persian under the rulers of the Ludi dynasty. This is further corroborated by the fact that the first Persian scholar amongst the Hindus lived in the Ludi regime. Anyhow, let us examine below the various spheres in which the Hindu writers and thinkers worked.

Pandit Dungarmal : Pandit Dungarmal lived in the reign of Sikandar Ludi. Even Muslim scholars were amazed at his knowledge of Persian. Now and then he wrote Persian couplets.

Todarmal : He was a Khattari. He pursued the Persian studies in the time of Shir Shah and thereby gained access to the Royal Court. After the fall of Shir Shah he was included in the body of the scholars and experts known as the 'Nine Jewels' attached to Akbar's Court. He was installed to the office of the Revenue Minister. He had acquired proficiency in Persian calligraphy also. In the *Tadhkirah-i-Khushnawisan* he has been mentioned as a skilful writer and a well versed calligraphist.

Lexicographers.

Rai Manohar Lal : He was the son of Rai Laun Karan. He was educated and trained by Prince Salim (later Jahangir). He is spoken very highly by various chroniclers for his command of the Persian language.

Chandrabhan Brahmin : He was the greatest scholar of

Hindu writers and authors of Persian prose.

Persian literature in Shah Jahan's time. A Brahmin of the Punjab, he was born at Lahore. His potentialities were developed under Mulla Karim. Brahmin was his pen name under which he wrote Persian poetry. His Persian Diwan can still be seen in the libraries. He had also acquired mastery of Persian prose, by virtue of which he was appointed a Private Secretary to Amiru'l-Umara Afdal Khan. In 1048 A.H. (1638 A.D.) after the death of Afdal Khan he passed on to the Royal Court, where he was appointed as the Chief Editor of the Royal Chronicles and Diary. The performance of his duties brought him an opportunity of daily attendance in the Royal Court to recite its entries, day after day. He presented his book, the Chahar Chaman, on the occasion of New Year's Day celebrations in the Royal Court held at Sirhind by Shah Jahan. On being convinced of his deep knowledge and rare talents prince Dara Shukuh, who specially patronised the talented Hindus, admitted him to the high order of the scholars of his time. Chandar Bhan also collected his letters in the book, entitled Munsha'at-i-Brahmin. He learnt calligraphy from Aqa Abdur Rashid.

Harkarandas : son of Muthradas, resident of Multan, Kamboh by caste, he was living in 1031 A.H. (1621 A.D.). He was attached as Mir-Munshi (Chief Secretary) to Itibar Khan, Governor of Akbarabad, one of the nobles of Jahangir's Court. This fact shows the thoroughness of his knowledge of Persian literature. He is the author of the Insha-i-Har-Karan, which is still found in some libraries.

Wamiq Khattari : He worked as agent to one of the nobles of 'Alamgir's Court. He had commanded such a reputation as a writer of Persian prose and poetry that the Emperor, who was himself a high ranking

scholar, appreciated his ability and attainments very much.

Sheoram Kayesth : He was resident of Akbarabad and his father held the office of Mutasaddi (Accounts Officer) under Nawwab Asad Khan, the Minister of 'Alamgir. He was a pupil of Mirza Bidil and he wrote the 'Gulgasht-i-Bahar-i-Iram' after the pattern of the Char Unsur, composed by his teacher. He died in 1144 A.H. (1731 A.D.)

Kunwar Prem Kishore : He was a grandson of Raja Jugal Kishore and was a poet and a writer of anecdotes, a calligraphist and author of some Mathnawis.

Munshi Lachman Singh : Baaqai (grocer) by caste, he was endowed with great intelligence and mental alertness. He had the good luck of benefiting from the company of some Iranians. His style was accordingly modelled on the pattern of Iranian prose writers.

The study of certain language does not merely imply an ability to read, write and understand that language. This is only the primary stage. The real knowledge of a language implies a command over it as masterly as possessed by those who speak it as their mother tongue. A scholar of a foreign language should not only possess the knowledge of the sources and roots of words used in that language, but he should also be able to discriminate between the appropriate and inappropriate terms used in various contexts. He should also be familiar with the style and diction followed by the leading writers and gain mastery over the formation of compound words, expression of ideas and use of idioms. We have now to consider whether or not the knowledge of Persian language possessed by the Hindu writers of Persian prose and poetry was of a higher standard than that laid down in these days for proficiency in a foreign language.

Upto Akbar's reign there existed more than 44 dictionaries of different sizes. But all of them had been compiled by the old writers who used Persian as their mother tongue, and so they did not fulfil the requirements of Indians. There were certain words and phrases regarded too simple to be explained, although they presented great difficulty to a student of Persian as a foreign language. The question of idioms is much more baffling than that of the words. Since a writer having Persian as his mother tongue can fully appreciate the aptness and application of an idiom, he is likely to presume that the rest of the world would understand it like him. In brief, it was for these reasons that Hindu writers felt the importance of compiling Persian dictionaries. They are mentioned below :

Tek Chand Bahar : He was a Khattari by caste and was one of the promising pupils of Sirajuddin 'Ali Khan Arzu of Akbarabad. He was the master of the intricacies of the Persian language. He had been benefited from the company of Iranians for a long time. He compiled several Persian dictionaries, namely, *Bahar-i-Ajam*, the *Nawadir-ul-Masadir*, the *Jawahirul-Huruf* etc., the first of which is most famous. He has stated in its preface that from his childhood right upto the age of 53 he devoted his full time to an analytic study of Persian language and laboured continuously for a period of twenty years to compile it. He personally revised the draft no less than seven times before finalising it. It was the last effort of his life and he breathed his last immediately after the preparation of its final draft. His pupil Munshi Indraman undertook its eighth revision and completed it with its introduction and epilogue in 1184 A.H. (1770 A.D.). This dictionary became so popular that it was consulted by all men of letters and it is still quoted as an authority. Every Persian knowing person is

familiar with it. While giving the meanings and usages of idioms, the author has quoted Persian poets by way of authority.

Sialkotimal Warasta : He is better known by his pen-name (Warasta). It was Warasta who wrote the *Rajmu'sh-Shayatin* in reply to the criticism levelled by Sir'ij Arzu against Shaikh Hazin. It can be easily appreciated to what extent he had acquired mastery over, and developed intelligent understanding, of the Persian language which enabled him to participate in the controversy between the linguistic experts, playing a role both offensive and defensive. It was, again, his deep love for the language which actuated him to visit Iran and stay there for a period of 15 years. The *Mustalahatu'sh-Shu'ara* and the *Sifat-i-Kainat* are the memorable outcomes of his journey. The former, though covering 400 pages only, was a fruit of 15 year's toil. He writes in its Persian introduction :—

"When I came across some extraordinary and strange idioms in some elegant verses composed by Persian poets, I resolved to make researches therein, but in spite of a careful consultation of the existing dictionaries, I failed to explain some of them, so I had to approach the Iranian linguistic in their own country and spent 15 years on this mission. Whatever I listened from them illustrative of their use has been incorporated in this book for the benefit of the lovers of the Persian language in general."

Pandit Ganga Bishan : Nothing of his life is known except that he compiled a dictionary named the *Farhang-i-Shir-u-Shakar* containing Arabic and Persian words.

Kashiraj Khattari : He is the author of the *Lughat-i-Panjabi* in Persian, a manuscript of which is available in the Bengal Asiatic Society Library.

Girdharilal : A resident of the Deccan, he compiled a Persian dictionary entitled the *Ganju'l-Lughat* in 1241 A.H. The Asafiyyah Library contains its manuscript.

Munshi Kamta Prasad : He adopted 'Nadan' as his pen-name. He lived in the Deccan and wrote the *Haft Gul* on Persian grammar. The Asafiyyah Library contains a manuscript of the same.

Mendulal : His pen-name was Zar. He produced a book on Persian grammar under the title of the *Bahar-i-'Ulum*. Its manuscript is to be seen in the Asafiyyah Library.

Farhang-i-Anandraj : It does not appear appropriate to include the *Farhang-i-Anandraj* in this list for two reasons. Firstly, its compiler is a Muslim; secondly, it was compiled in the post-Muslim period of Indian history. Yet it has to be mentioned with a view to paying off the debt. The *Farhang-i-Anandraj* was compiled long ago in compliance of the orders of a Hindu Raja named Anand Raj of Madras. This is the most voluminous dictionary, covering several thousand pages in three volumes of folio size. Not only does it contain Persian words like other Persian dictionaries, but it includes such Arabic words also as are current in Persian. The preface to the book shows that thousands of rupees were spent by the Raja on its compilation. Reference books were produced from distant countries to set up a library for the purpose. A substantial honorarium was paid to the author per mensum. The Raja himself got it printed and published.

For the unification and fusion of two different national cultures, the best device is to unify their literatures by means of translation into one common language,

age, which dissolves them as it were into one chemical compound. Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru has fully stressed its importance in the first number of the *Subh-i-Umid*. In this modern age it is imperative to renew our efforts in this direction as our ancestors had followed the same method with success. Here it is not proposed to assess what the Muslim did in this field, but to examine the achievement of the Hindu translators of the past.

Doubtless, the real success in our efforts to achieve mutual goodwill and understanding rests in the hands of the translators, who present the ideas and ideals of one nation to the other in order to bring home the truth that they are not at variance basically but at one with each other. As a matter of fact translation started with the beginning of the Muslim rule in India as the result of their thirst for knowledge; and to bring about harmony between the two communities was not their main objective.

In the reign of Akbar the Great, the Muslim 'Ulema and Hindu Pandits in compliance of the Emperor's order joined hands to translate the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharat*, the *Singasan*, the *Battisi*, the *Lilawati*, the *Nal-daman*, the *Tajik*, the *Haribans*, the *Athurveda*, etc. Those Pandits who had a major share in this project were Gangadhar, Mahesh, Mahanand, Kishan Joshi and Bhawan. It is regretted that nothing of their lives is known.

Later, the time came when, not on the initiative of the kings but of their own accord, some of the Hindu Pandits voluntarily set to work in this field. Their names with their individual contributions are noted below :—

Girdhardas : Kayesth by caste, resident of Delhi, he translated the *Ramayana* into Persian in 1036 A.H.

(1626 A.D.) during the reign of Jahangir. This translation is contained in the British Museum, London.

Banwallidas: He adopted 'Wali' as his pen-name. He was attached to Prince Dara Shukuh as his Chief Secretary. He translated into Persian a story named the *Parodachandra Vidya*.

Pandit Lachhmi Narain: He translated the *Aprokha Niyoti* of Shankara Acharya into Persian under the title of the *Hadaiqu'l Ma'rafai*.

Munshi Makhkhan Lal: His translation of the *Ramayana* is known as the *Jahan-i-Zafar*.

Amarsingh: He brought out the *Ramayan Amar Prakash* containing the brief life sketches of Parvati, Mahadeo, Ram Chandra and Raja Dasrath.

Pandit Amarnath: With 'Shaida' as his pen-name he wrote a book entitled *Khayalat-i-Shaida*, containing an account of the words in accordance with the four Vedas.

Ram Prasad: He came of an Oudh family and served as treasurer to Nawab Nazim Muhammad Darab Khan. In 1227 A.H. (1812 A.D.) he translated the *Amat-charitra* as desired by the said Nawab under the title of *Makhzanu'l Irfan*.

Gopal: He was the son of Sri Govind. He translated the *Ramayana* into Persian, a manuscript of which dated 1871 A.D. is contained in the Bengal Asiatic Library.

Anand Ghan Gosha'in: Khush was his pen-name. He translated the *Kashi Khandas* into Persian, a manuscript of which dated 1208 A.H. is available in the Bengal Asiatic Library.

Anand Kunwar: A manuscript of his translation of the *Giyan Sagar* is to be found in Bengal Asiatic Society Library.

Zorawar Singh: He translated some Sanskrit books into Persian of his life nothing is known.

Murlidhar: He translated the *Siri Bhagwat*, a manuscript of whose translation is contained in the afore-said society.

Ra'o Dalpat Singh: He has already been mentioned in the Section of History, Chapter IV, with his original name Dalpat Rai. During the tenure of his office under Maharaja Jagat Singh, the ruler of Udaipur he made a glorious achievement by translating the *Diwan* of Hafiz Shirazi into Hindi.

During the Muslim rule the number of Hindu Mathematicians and Geometricians far exceeded that of other scholars. We are not aware of those Brahmins who benefited from the Arab researches through Al-Biruni; nor do we know those who worked in this field in subsequent centuries. Yet the fact remains that the Sanskrit works were substantially influenced by the Arab rational researches. Le Bon, French author of the '*Indian Civilization*' affirms that after the 11th century A.D. the Indian Sciences meant nothing other than the Arab Sciences. The Indian Sciences which started with the Mathematical research of Arya Bhatta in the 5th century A.D., were subsequently enlarged in the 7th century A.D. by Baraham Gupta. They deal only with those problems which were introduced in India by the Greeks and the Muslims.

Hindus and
Rational
sciences.

Abul Fadl has mentioned in his *A'in-i-Akbari* under the heading *Danish Amuzan-i-Dawat*, 142 scholars of different branches of learning. In the pages of this

book both the Hindu and the Muslim scholars and philosophers of eminence have been mentioned side by side. Under the heading of *Shanasa-i-Aqli Kalam* Abul Fadl has given a list of his contemporaries as follows :—

Narain, Madhobhat, Sri Bhat, Bishun Nath, Ram Krishna, Balbhadar Misra, Basdeo Misra, Bahun Bhat, Vidya Nawas, Gori Nath, Gopal Nath, Kishun Pandit, Bhatta Charya, Bhogirath, Kashi Nath and Batta Raj.

Bahadur Khan the Ruler of Tikari.

Ihtishamu'd-Dawla Mubarizu'l Mulk Raja Bahadur Khan, Nusrat Jang may be regarded by our Hindu friends of this age as a name of a Muslim noble. But it should be known that he was the son of Maharaja Mitrijit Singh, Raja of Tikari, (Bihar). This Raja had lived till 30 years before the Indian Mutiny (was of Independence). He was well versed in Arabic and Persian learning. His court was a rendezvous of the Hindu and Muslim scholars alike. Mawlana Ghulam Hussain Jawnpuri, a reputed mathematician of that time, was one of them. He says about the Raja that of all the branches of knowledge there was none in which he was not fully conversant.

One day the Raja stated in an assembly of the scholars that there had been a gradual deterioration of learning for several reasons. One of them was that most of the books on science and literature were in Arabic from which Persian knowing people could not benefit. It was, therefore, essential to prepare in the Persian a comprehensive book containing theories and principles of every branch of learning. During the last 300 years commencing from 'Allama 'Abdul 'Ali *Barjandis* time no book had been written on that type. Eventually the Raja ordered

Mawlana Ghulam Hussain to start writing this sort of book.

The said Mawlana wrote a comprehensive book in Persian under the title of the *Jam-i-Bahadur Khani* on the subject of Mathematics, the like of which can perhaps scarcely be found in Arabic. It would be most fitting to call it the *Encyclopedia of Mathematics*. This book contains Chapters on Geometry, Optics, Arithmetic, Algebra Astronomy and observatory apparatuses and regulations with scores of topics and sections thereunder. The whole book covers 714 pages of big size, each containing 25 lines. It was commenced in 1248 A. H. (1832 A. D.) and was completed the next year in the time of Akbar II. The times of the rising and setting of stars have been laid down according to the observations made in the fortress of Tikari. The author has also compared the ancient researches with the latest European ones.

The knowledge of medicine possessed by the Muslims included the experiments and the studies made by the Greeks, the Iranians and the Indians with their own considerable additions made thereto. Consequently this new system of medicine had special distinctions as compared with the old system. The improvements made in the Indian system of medicine after the arrival of the Muslims are given below:—

Hindu
writers on
Medical
Science.

1. It is but natural with the ruling nation to regard its own knowledge and learning superior to that of the subject nation and to be indifferent to the latter. But the Muslims never followed this policy in their regime. On the contrary they translated scores of Hindi books into their own language and disseminated their own knowledge

of medicine all over the country. With a view to making it suit the Indian nature and temperament, they transferred the existing knowledge of the Hindns on the subject to their Persian books and approved them for general use.

When Khawas Khan, a noble at Sikandar Lodi's court, suggested that the Greek system of medicine did not suit the climatic conditions of India, the Sultan ordered the Indian system to be translated from Sanskrit into Persian books. Thereupon the son of Khawas Khan carried out the orders and accomplished the task. The book thus prepared was named the *Mad'anu'Shifa-i-Sikander Shahi*. Qasim Firishta revived the Indian system of medicine before Akbar's regime by composing the *Ikhtiyarat-i-Qasimi*. The medical science found today in the Indo-Persian literature and particularly all the prescriptions contained in the note books of hereditary physicians are of Indian origin. Similarly the Indian physicians borrowed hundreds of prescriptions, drugs and principles of treatment from the Muslims. These inter-changes led to the development of a system which was best suited to the local conditions.

2. Formerly, only the drugs found in India were used by the Hindu physicians, but the Muslims introduced all such drugs and herbs also as had been tried and tested in different parts of the world. The Indian people gradually learnt their use and properties. The scope of medical knowledge was thus considerably expanded.
3. As far as the varieties of the compound medicines are concerned, many of them were introduced, such as distilled liquid essence of herbs, electuary (*Ma'jun*), *qirufi* (a medicine produced of wax-oil emulsions) powers etc.

4. Diseases like smallpox, which were superstitiously believed to be caused by deities or ghosts and considered incapable of medical treatment were declared curable. The first book of smallpox was written by an Arab.

Abul Fadl has mentioned a few names of the famous Hindu physicians of Akbar's time such as Mahadeva, Bhim Nath, Narain and Sivji. A few other important Hindu physicians in the courts of Muslim rulers are given below:—

1. Sri Bhat

He was attached to the court of Hakim Sultan Zainu'l-Abedin 877 A. H. (1472 A. D.), the ruler of Kashmir, who had personally trained him for practising medicine, as mentioned by Firishta.

2. Sukhraj

His father was employed under Asad Khan, a minister of Alamgir. Sukhraj possessed consummate knowledge of medicine besides other rational sciences. He had a military rank under Sayyid 'Ali Hussain Khan.

3. Munshi Lachhi Narain Ganjawi

He studied medicine, like many other Hindus, under the supervision and instructions of the Muslim physicians. His family was associated with the courts of Alamgir and Muhammad Shah.

4. Rai Mannulal Falsafi

He was well versed in medicine besides rational sciences. He has left behind a good book on the subject. He died in 1248 A.H. (1832 A.D.)

5 Diya Nath

He translated the *Pak Hui Kali* into Persian. Its manuscript is available in the Asafiyah Library.

6. Munshi Mahtab Narain

He compiled the *Daruru't-Tib* wherein he discussed properties of various drugs

Hindu
Musicians.

Music was popular in the earliest times of Indian civilization and India's mastery in this art was accepted on all hands. But it received great impetus under the Muslim rulers. They also made their own contribution by welding it into the musical technique of Iran and Turan. Hindu musicians lived during the Pathan regime also and the munificence of the Sultans of Delhi continued to draw them to the capital where they met Khusraw, the most consummate artist of his time. The most famous of this band of Hindu musicians was Gopal. He had no less than 1200 pupils who always accompanied him, walking at his heels. Gopal presented himself at the court of 'Ala'ud-Din Khalji with the same retinue.

Kashmir has been since long an important centre of the art of music. But it should be clearly understood that there, too, it was Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, 877 A.H. a Muslim ruler of Kashmir, who encouraged and developed it much. Himself an expert of music, he patronized the musicians very liberally. Musicians from Iran and India consequently flocked there in large number.

Farishta writes:—

“When the reputation of Sultan Zainu'l Abidin's munificence had spread far and wide, experts of both

vocal and instrumental music from the neighbouring countries flocked to Kashmir so much so that she began to be envied by Europe.”¹

As already pointed out, Indian music is not purely the product of Indian soil. It was the catholicity of Muslim rulers combined with their deep aesthetic sense which led to the blending of Iranian and Turanian systems with the technique of Indian music. Abul-Fadl also holds the same opinion as indicated by the following quotation from his *A'in*.²

“Experts in the art of music, both men and women, from India, Iran, Turan and Kashmir added to the splendour of the royal assemblies”

We notice at the court of Akbar, the Great, side by side with the Muslim musicians, many Hindu masters of the art, such as Babaram, Surdas, Rangsen and Miyan Tansen or Miyan Chand whatever he may be named. About this Miyan Tansen, Abul Fadl has remarked that during this millennium no musician equal to him has been born.

Muslim writers wrote several books on Hindu music such as *Rag Darpan*, *Chandrika*, *Madhnayak Singer* etc. But we know little of any other Hindu writer except Bhupal Rai who composed a treatise on music in the nineteenth year of Muhammad Shahi reign i.e. 1738 A.D.

The Hindus after the arrival of the Muslims began to specialize in painting also like other fine arts; so that after a short time they attained perfection beyond imagination, according to Abul Fadl. It is further

Hindu
painters.

1. Farishta, Vol II, p. 344.

2. *Ain*, p. 83.

proved by the fact that Akbar the Great, who ardently loved the Hindu art and culture had no specimen of ancient Indian painting in his museum. Abul Fald says, "India which had never thought of the art of painting has now reached such a high level of efficiency that few countries can compete with her."¹

Some prominent Hindu painters of Akbar's time are mentioned below:—

Kesu, Mukand, Jagan, Khemkaran, Sanwla, Lal, Madho, Mahesh, Tara, Harban, and Ram Basawan.

Of all the rulers of Timur's dynasty, Jahangir was the greatest patron of this art. Bishandas was an outstanding painter of his court. The Emperor himself acknowledged his talents in the Tuzuk and declared him to be a painter unsurpassed in portrait-painting.

Jahangir sent Khan Alam to Iraq in the fourteenth coronation year of his reign i.e. 1619 A.D. Bishandas also accompanied him under the Emperor's orders. He was instructed to portray the picture of Shah Abbas Safavi and his court. These portraits were so excellently painted that all who had seen those personages considered them perfectly lifelike. The emperor himself boasted of this achievement of Bishandas in his Tuzuk and admired the artist's performance.

The Library of Abdur Rahim, Khan Khanan was a sort of museum which contained, as the most wonderful specimens, some paintings of Madho, a Hindu painter. The author of the *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*

1. Ain-i-Akbari, p. 77.

says about Madho that he was the greatest expert of his time in portrait and genre painting and that the pictures in most of the pictorial books contained in the library, had been painted by him.

In Muhammad Shah's regime there was a painter in Delhi named Gordhan whom Anand Ram, the author of the *Mir'atu'l-Islah* says that he could draw map of a whole city on one leaf of the narcissus.¹

1. This chapter is based upon "Education of the Hindus under Muslim rule", a book of unusual authenticity of its contents and vast information on the subject matter compiled by Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi and published by the Academy of Educational Research, All Pakistan Educational Conference, both in Urdu and English version.

APPENDIX I

Important Schools of Mediaeval India

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of the Institution</i>	<i>Place.</i>
SIND & MULTAN		
1.	Madrasa Abu Ahmed Mansoori.	Mansoori
2.	Madrasa Feerozi.	Uchh
3.	Madrasa Nasiruddin Qabacha.	Multan
4.	Madrasa Shah Hussain Loonga.	Multan
5.	Madrasa Hussain Bin Ali Bukhari.	Bhakkar
6.	Madrasa Thatta.	Thatta
7.	Madrasa Badin.	Badin
8.	Madrasa Hafiz Muhammad Jamal	Multan
9.	Madrasa Alya	Bahawalpur
10.	Madrasa Mulla Abdul Wahab Charkhi Dilawar	

BIHAR

11.	Madrasa Islamia Bihar	Bihar
12.	Madrasa Mulla Abdulla Bohari	Bihar
13.	Madrasa Khankah Sher Kabir	Sahasram
14.	Madrasa Nawab Asif Khan	Danapur
15.	Madrasa Khankah	Phulwari
16.	Madrasa Seefya	Patna
17.	Madrasa Deenya	Mirzapur

DELHI

18.	Madrasa Mauazzi	Delhi
19.	Madrasa Nasirya	Delhi

<i>S. No</i>	<i>Name of the Institution.</i>	<i>Place</i>
20.	Madrasa Makbara Sultan Alauddin	Delhi No. 1
21.	Madrasa Shamsuddin Altamash	Delhi
22.	Madrasa Killa Khurramabad	Khurramabad
23.	Madrasa Houz Khas	Delhi
24.	Madrasa Feroz Sahi	Delhi
25.	Madrasa Malaband, Apeeri	Delhi
26.	Madrasa Makbara Shehzada Fateh Khan	Delhi
27.	Madrasa Feroz Sahahi	Delhi
28.	Madrasa Humayun	Delhi
29.	Madrasa Makbara Humayun	Delhi
30.	Madrasa Khabrul Manazil	Delhi
31.	Madrasa Ahd-e-Jehangir	Delhi
32.	Madrasa Darul-Baqa	Delhi
33.	Madrasa Shah Abdul Rahim	Delhi
34.	Madrasa Gaziuddin	Delhi
35.	Madrasa Sharfud Doula	Delhi
36.	Madrasa Shah Kalimullah	Delhi
37.	Madrasa Shah Fakhruddin Chishti	Delhi
38.	Madrasa Mufti Sadru-uddin Khan	Delhi

AGRA

39.	Madrasa Zainuddin Khwani	Agra
40.	Madrasa Shah Rafiuddin Muhaddis	Agra
41.	Madrasa Khas	Agra
42.	Madrasa Azam	Agra
43.	Madrasa Alya Jama Masjid	Agra
44.	Madrasa Mulla Zahid	Agra
45.	Madrasa Akbar Azam	Fatehpur
46.	Madrasa Abul-Fazal	Seekri
47.	Madrasa Sikahder Lodi	Fatehpur
48.	Madrasa Qazi Rafi-uddin	Seekri
		Muthra
		Beeana

S. No	Name of the Institution	Place.
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MALWA

49.	Madrasa Sikandar Loudi	Narwar
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PUNJAB

50.	Madrasa	Jalhinder
51.	Madrasa Moluana Abdul Karim	Lahore
52.	Madrasa Masjid Wazir Khan	Lahore
53.	Madrasa Sheikh Hamid Qadri	Lahore
54.	Madrasa Qaleej Khan	Lahore
55.	Madrasa Mulla Hadi Muhammad	Lahore
56.	Madrasa Mian Taimoor	Lahore
57.	Madrasa Wace Lado	Lahore
58.	Madrasa Muhammad Zahir	Lahore
59.	Madrasa Abul-Khair	Khair Gara
60.	Madrasa Abu-ul-Hasan Khan	Lahore
61.	Madrasa Sheikh Bahlol	Lahore
62.	Madrasa Fazli Qadri	Lahore
63.	Madrasa Mulla Khawaja	Lahore
64.	Madrasa Sheikh Jan Muhammad Suharwardy	Lahore
65.	Madrasa Mulla Abdul Hakim	Sialkot
66.	Madrasa Shaikh Chilli	Thanaisar
67.	Madrasa Sher Shah Soori	Narnoul

GUJRAT

68.	Madrasa Abu Yousaf	Pattan
69.	Madrasa Makhdoom Alam	Pattan
70.	Madrasa Khan Sarwar	Naiharwala Pattan
71.	Madrasa Sarkhaiz	Sarkhaiz
72.	Madrasa Alya Alwia	Ahmadabad
73.	Madrasa Sultan Mahmood Baigrah	
74.	Madrasatul Ulma	Ahmadabad
75.	Madrasa Shaikul Islam	Ahmadabad
76.	Madrasa Shama Burhani	Usmanpoor

S. No.	Name of the Institution.	Place.
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77.	Madrasa	Pattan
78.	Madrasa Haji Zahid Baig	Surat
79.	Madrasa Marjan Sahib	Surat

BENGAL

80.	Madrasa Bukhtyar Khilji	Rangpoor
81.	Madrasa Ghayasuddin	Lukhnouti
82.	Madrasa Dars Bara	Umarpoor
83.	Madrasa Teela	Istahi-poor
84.	Madrasa Gour	Gaur
85.	Madrasa Nawab Shaesta Khan	Dacca
86.	Madrasa Masjid Khan Muhammad	Dacca
87.	Madrasa Faizullah	Azampoor
88.	Madrasa Kathra	Mursidabad
90.	Madrasa Munshi Sadruddin	Bohar

MALWA AND RAJPUTANA

91.	Madrasa Shadi-abad	Mando
92.	Madrasa	Chittour
93.	Madrasa Sultan Mehmood Khilji	Sadi-abad
94.	Madrasa Mahmood Khilji	Sarangpoor
95.	Madrasa Niswan Ghayasuddin	Sadi-abad
96.	Madrasa Zafar-abad	Zafar-abad
97.	Madrasa Ujjain	Ujjain

KASHMIR

98.	Darool-Uloom	Kashmir
99.	Darool-Uloom	Kashmir
100.	Madrasa Hussain Chak	Kashmir
101.	Madrasa Hussain Khan	Kashmir

DECCAN

102.	Madrasa Roohuddin Lari	Burhanpoor
103.	Madrasa Burhan Shah	Burhanpoor

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of the Institution.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
104.	Madrasa Mahmood Gawan	Baidar
105.	Madrasa Ahmed Shah Behmini	Gulbarga
106.	Madrasa	Goulkanda
107.	Madrasa Bughdad	Ahmadnagar
108.	Madrasa Asna Ashria	Ahmadnagar
109.	Madrasa	Kandhar
110.	Madrasa	Burhanpoor
111.	Madrasa	Bijapoor
112.	Madrasa Siftulla	Bijapoor
113.	Madrasa	Doulata-bad
114.	Madrasa Chahar Meenar	Hyderabad
115.	Madrasa Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Khanou Toosi	Hyderabad
116.	Madrasa Shah Musafir	Aurangabad
117.	Madrasa Ameenul-Mulk Meer Joomla	Hyderabad
118.	Madrasa Farooqiya	Aurangabad

MADRAS

119.	Madrase Wala Jahi	Madras
120.	Darul-Uloom Teepe Sultan	Saranga- pattam

UDH

121.	Madrasa Saeed,uddin	Lucknow
122.	Madrasa Shaikh Hafiz Alam	Suhali
123.	Madrasa Shah Peer Muhammad	Lucknow
124.	Madrasa Nizamiya Feerangi Mehal	Lucknow

JAUNPOOR

125.	Madrasa Qazi Shahabuddin	Jaunpoor
126.	Madrasa Moulana Allah Dad	Jaunpoor
127.	Madrasa Mulla Mehmood, Sahib Shams Bajga	Jaunpoor
128.	Madrasa Mulla Baqi	Jaunpoor
129.	Madrasa Mulla Nooruddin	Jaunpoor

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of the Institution.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
130.	Madrasa Mufti Sayed Mubarak	Jaunpoor
131.	Madrasa Mulla Hafeez	Jaunpoor
132.	Madrasa Mulla Sheikh Hamid	Jaunpoor
133.	Madrasa Mulla Sheikh Muhammad Mah	Jaunpoor
134.	Madrasa Muhammad Al a	Jaunpoor
135.	Madrasa Meer Muhammad Malleh	Jaunpoor
136.	Madrasa Mulla Sadar Jehan	Jaunpoor
137.	Madrasa Mulla Shamsuddin	Jaunpoor
138.	Madrasa Meer Muhammad Askari	Jaunpoor
139.	Madrasa Moulvi Sanaullah	Jaunpoor
140.	Madrasa Sayed Ziauddin Khan	Jaunpoor
141.	Madrasa Moinuddin Hakak	Jaunpoor
142.	Madrasa Mufti Deyanatullah	Jaunpoor
143.	Madrasa Sheikh Ruknuddin	Jaunpoor
144.	Madrasa Abdul Baqi Khizri	Jaunpoor
145.	Madrasa Ustadnl Muluk	Jaunpoor
146.	Madrasa Mulla Madari	Jaunpoor
147.	Madrasa Mulla Muhammad Sadiq	Jaunpoor
148.	Madrasa Mulla Wahab Uddin	Jaunpoor
149.	Madrasa Mulla Jamil	Jaunpoor
150.	Madrasa Bibi Raba	Jaunpoor
151.	Madrasa Islamia	Jaunpoor
152.	Madrasa Chasma Rahmat	Gajipoor
153.	Madrasa Mulla Abdul Salam	Daiwah
154.	Madrasa Mullah Amanullah	Banaras
155.	Madrasa Ali Kooli	Jats
156.	Madrasa Khankah Muftyan	Gopamou
157.	Madrasa Qazian	Gopamou
158.	Madrasa Qazi Shahabuddin	Gopamou
159.	Madrasa Qazi Mubarrak Sarah Muslimool Uloom	Gopamou
160.	Madrasa Muhammad Ali Wala Jah	Gopamou
161.	Madrasa Shaikh Nizamuddin Allah Din Rizvi	Khairabad

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of the Institution.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
162.	Madrasa Qadymia	Khairabad
163.	Madrasa Hakim Mehdi	Fateh Garh
164.	Madrasa Fakhrul-Murabba	Farkhabad
165.	Madrasa Shah Afzal	Allahabad
166.	Madrasa Hasan Raza Khan	Faizabad
167.	Nawab Muhammad Khan	Farkhabad
168.	Madrasa Alya	Rampur
169.	Madrasa Hafiz-ul-Moolk	Peelibhit
170.	Madrasa Hafiz-ul-Moolk	Shahjahanpur
171.	Madrasa	Baraily
172.	Madrasa Najeebul-Doula	Daranagaa
173.	Madrasa	Badayun
174.	Madarsa Ainool Mulk	Islamabad
175.	Madrasa Zulfiqar-ul-Doula	Bandh
176.	Madrasa Hameed-ullah	Sandila
177.	Madrasa Abul-Waiz	Hergam
178.	Madrasa Rooknia	Kakouri

APPENDIX II

Old Islamic Libraries of Mediaeval India

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of the Institution.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
1.	Khazana Amra Qutub-uddin Aybak	Delhi
2.	Kutub Khana Balban	Delhi
3.	Muhammad Bin Tughlaq ka Kutub Khana	Delhi
4.	Kutub Khana Feeroze Shahi	Delhi
5.	Kutub Khana Akhi Siraj	Lucknotty
6.	Kutub Khana Tatar Khan	Delhi
7.	Kutub Khana Humayun	Delhi
8.	Kutub Khana Syed Ibrahim	Delhi
9.	Kutub Khana Sahahajani	Delhi
10.	Kutub Khana Zaibun Nisan	Delhi
11.	Sahahi Kutub Khana	Delhi
12.	Kutub Khana Dara Shikoh	Delhi
13.	Kutub Khana Shahi Qilla Moualla	Delhi
14.	Kutub Khana Shah Abdul Aziz	Delhi
15.	Kutub Khana Mufti Sadruddin	

PUNJAB

16.	Kutub Khana Qazi Khan	Lahore
17.	Kutub Khana Mulla Abdul Hakim	Sialkot

SIND

18.	Kutub Khana Abu Muhammad Mansoori	Mansoor
19.	Kutub Khana Dilawar	Dilawar

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of the Institution.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
20.	Kutub Khana Abbasia	Dilawar
21.	Kutub Khana Babar	Agra
22.	Kutub Khana Akbari	Agra
23.	Kutub Khan Faizi	Agra
24.	Kutub Khana Jehengir	Agra
25.	Kutub Khana Abdul Rahim Khan Khanan	Agra
26.	Kutub Khana Samsams-ud-doula	Agra
27.	Kutub Khana Moulana Amjad Ali Shah Asghar	Agra
28.	Kutub Khana Hakim Noor-uddin	Agra
29.	Kutub Khana Mufti Inam-ullah	Agra
30.	Kutub Knana Jmdad-doul-ala	Agra

GUJRAT

31.	Kutub Khaha Sahahi	Gujrat
32.	Kutub Khana Pattan	Pattan
33.	Kutub Khada Masnad Ali	Gujrat
34.	Kutub Khana Ahmed Bin Sulman	Gujrat
35.	Kutub Khana Muhammad Tahir Patni	Naihar-wala Pattan
36.	Kutub Khana Alvia	Ahmadabad
37.	Kutub Khana Makhdoom Ibrahim	Ahmadabad
38.	Kutub Khana Madarasa Hydayat Buksh	Ahmadabad
39.	Kutub Khana Saifya	Ahmadabad
40.	Kutub Khana Wali-ullah	Ahmadabad
41.	Kutub Khana Wazir Asif Khan	Gujrat
42.	Kutub Khana Sulmani	Ahmadabad
43.	Kutub Kkana Momin Khan	Cambay.
44.	Kutub Khana Abdul Latif Diwan	Ahmadabad
45.		
46.	Hutub Khana Mehakmai Qaza	Ahmadabad
47.	Kutub Khana	Anmadabad
48.	Kutub Khana Shaikh Khizro	Ahmadabad

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of the Institution.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
49.	Kutub Khana Champanir Mehakmai Qaza	Japanair
50.	Kutub Khana Mehakmai Qaza	Achrooch
51.	Kutub Khana Hakim Rooh-ul-Allah	Ahmadabad
52.	Kutub Khana Moulana Ishaq	
53.	Kutub Khana Muhammad Usman	Usmanpoor
54.	Kutub Khana Shaikh Ahmad Khatoo	Gujrat
55.	Kutub Khana Shah Alam	

DACCAN

56.	Kutub Khana Adil Shah	Baijapoor
47.	Kutub Khana Goulkunda	Goulkunda
58.	Kutub Khana Sultan Ibrahim Surqi	Jaunpoor
59.	Kutub Khana Shaikh Hussain	Jaunpoor
60.	Kutub Khana Mir Muhammad Ali	Mursadabad
61.	Kutub Khana Khankah Shah Musafir	Aurangabad
62.	Kutub Khana Nizam-ud-Doula Nasir Jang	Hyderabad
63.	Kutub Khana Nawab Salar Jang	Hyderabad
64.	Kutub Khana Monvi Qamaruddin Azad	Auradgabad
65.	Kutub Khana Darah Kooli Khan	Hyderabad
66.	Kutub Khana Saraari	Bhopal
67.	Kutub Khana Nawab Wazir-ud-Doula	Tounk

MADRAS

68.	Kutub Khana Nawab Muhammad Ali Wala Jah	Madras
69.	Kutub Khana Am	Madras
70.	Kutub Khana Teepu Sultan	Maisoor Sarnaga- pattam
71.	Kutub Khana Khandaish	Burhanpoor

S. No. *Name of the Institution.* *Place.*

72. Kutub Khana Mkhmood Gawan Beidar

AOUDH

73. Kutub Khana Shahan-e-oudh Lucknow
 74. Kutub Khana Madrasa Nizamia Lucknow
 75. Kutub Khana Behrul-Uloom Lucknow
 Feerangi Mahal
 76. Kutub Khana Mujtehdien Lucknow Lucknow
 77. Kutub Khana Moulvi Abdul Qadir Ghousi
 78. Kutub Khana Muktyan Gopamo Gopamo
 79. Kutub Khana Abdul Jalil Bilgram Bilgram
 80. Kutub Khana Anwarya Kakouri
 81. Kutub Khana Abdul Basith Qannoug
 82. Kutub Khana Sahh Tabeeb Bilgram

RUHAILKAND

83. Kutub Khana Syed Farruk Ali Banayun
 Jalali
 84. Kutub Khana Hafiz-ul-Mulk Hafiz Bareilly
 Rahmat Khan
 85. Kutub Khana Hakim Saeed-ullah Aonula
 86. Kutub Khana Ghulam Hazrat Gourakh-
 poor
 87. Kutub Khana Rampur Rampur
 88. Kutub Khana Moulana Ziauddin Jaipur

In preparing the two lists of the important educational institutions and libraries founded by the Muslims in medieval India, the following works have proved very useful :—

1. Hindustan Ki Qaceem Islami Darshgahai by Moulvi Abul Hasanat Nadvi.
2. Farishta.
3. Asarus-Sanadid by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan,

4. Salateen-i-Hind ki Elmi Sarparasti.
5. Tadhkirrai-Ulmi Hind by Moulvi Mamluk Ali, Urdu tranilation by Muhammad Ayub Qadri, M.A.
6. Tarajimul Fuzala by Moulana Fazal-e-Imam published by All Pakistan Htstorical Society.
7. Mathirul Umara by Ghulam Ali Azad.
8. Bazm-i-Mamlukia by Sabahuddin Abdur Rehman.
9. Tareekh-i-Mashikh-i-Chist by Khaliq Ahmed Nizami.
10. Bazam-i-Taimuria by Sabahuddin Abdur Rehman.
11. Hayat-e-Hafiz Rehmat Khan by Syed Altaf Ali Bazelvi, english translation by Professor Mohd. Hamiuddin Khan.
12. Tareekha Sindh by Moulvi Riyasat Ali Nadvi.
13. Gujrat ki Tamoduni Tareekh.
14. Islamic Nizam-e-Taleem ka Choudasau sala Muraqqa by Mufti Intezamullah Shahabi
15. Musalmanan-e-Hind-Pakistan ki Tareekhai Taleem by Syed Nausha Ali and Mufti Intezamullah Shahabi.
16. Alminhaj by Dr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Sufi.
17. Raud-i-Kauthar by Maulana Mohd. Ikram.
18. Promotion of Learning under Muslim rule, by Narendranath Law.

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